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Czechoslovakia

Civic Democratic Party chairman Vaclav Klaus and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia chairman Vladimir Meciar signed a political agreement in Bratislava on 23 July reports CSTK. The agreement states: "Both parties will attempt to ensure the legitimacy of the process of ending the Czechoslovak Federation."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said at a news conference that the cooperation agreement signed in Zagreb "is of no importance to the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina." He continued that President Alija Izetbegovic's signatures "are not binding for the Serb nation," TANJUG reports.

Bulgaria

A no-confidence motion submitted by the opposition Bulgarian Socialist Party was defeated in an open ballot in the National Assembly. Politicians of the Union of Democratic Forces and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms "unanimously" voted against the motion.

Romania

At a news conference on 22 July, Teodor Melescanu, foreign minister secretary of state, said Romania will "commit itself to the efforts for a political settlement of the conflict in eastern Moldova both within political bodies and through other bilateral or multilateral actions," reports ROMPRES.

Poland

Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka's 23 July address to the Polish Senate was carried by Warsaw radio. In her speech, Suchocka emphasized factors that she believes "can decide the success of an economic revival plan: the overcoming of a permanent crisis in the state finances, modernization of Polish agriculture, and resolute actions by the government aimed at changing methods of managing state enterprises and their privatization."

Yugoslavia

Federal—In an interview carried by TANJUG, Foreign Affairs Minister Vladislav Jovanovic "expressed his views of the federal diplomatic service's immediate and long-term tasks and objectives, of pressures and threats from abroad, the failures of the EC-sponsored Conference on Yugoslavia, the sanctions and chances for lifting them, and war and peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

U.S. Nonproliferation Initiative Welcomed

AU2307103792 Sofia BTA in English 0941 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 23 (BTA)—"The Government of the Republic of Bulgaria welcomes the initiative of U.S. President Bush of July 13, 1992, aimed at preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction," says a statement of the government's spokeswoman Mrs. Nadezhda Mikhaylova circulated today. The Bulgarian Government sees as especially important the U.S. decision to suspend the production of weapons-grade plutonium and uranium.

The Bulgarian Government actively supports international efforts to prevent the proliferation of mass destruction weapons and their delivery vehicles and implements a consistent policy of meeting its treaty and political commitments in this sphere, the statement says. The statement reiterates the government's intentions to be among the original signatories to the prospective international convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and take the steps needed for its prompt ratification and entry into force.

"The Bulgarian Government will maintain close contacts and hold consultations with countries observing the internationally agreed standards and norms for the export of materials, equipment and technologies with potential dual (civilian and military) use and other internationally controlled goods, especially such delivered to hotbeds of tension or conflicts. The Bulgarian Government believes that cooperation of this type does not aim to restrict international trade but to prevent its use for the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and for other activities destabilizing international peace and security. The Government of the Republic of Bulgaria, for its part, is taking steps to speed up the establishment of a national system of tightened export control of strategic goods, which will be entirely consistent with international requirements, so as to help an early lifting of all effective restrictions on trade with Bulgaria," the statement says.

Government Survives No-Confidence Vote

AU2407102492 Sofia BTA in English 0836 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 24 (BTA)—The government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] survived a vote of no-confidence which the opposition Bulgarian Socialist Party had moved for. The no-confidence in Filip Dimitrov's cabinet motion was put to the vote today. The MPs of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) unanimously voted against the no-confidence motion: 130 votes for vs. 104 against by the Socialists [as received].

The issue was settled by open ballot. The secret ballot motion made by the Bulgarian Socialist Party was voted down.

Under the Bulgarian Constitution a no-confidence motion is considered accepted if it is supported by more than 50 percent of the MPs in the 240-seat parliament

A vote of no-confidence in the government of the Union of Democratic Forces was put to the vote in parliament for the first time in the cabinet's eight months in office. Three months ago there were structural and personal changes in the cabinet made on the insistance of the SDS parliamentary faction.

Politicians Comment on Motion

AU2407103292 Sofia BTA in English 1019 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 24 (BTA)—Running the country at a moment of crisis is like steeplechase. Today we cleared one of the obstacles, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov told parliament after the Socialists' motion of no-confidence in the government was voted down.

A vote of no-confidence in the government at the present moment is tantamount to no-confidence in democracy, Mr. Dimitrov said. The socialists' vote of no-confidence in the government was virtually a vote against the attempts to stabilize Bulgarian economy, against the extended agreement with the International Monetary Fund, against the government's right to combat the mafia with the help of police commandos.

It is my firm belief, the premier said, that some of the Socialist MPs will support some actions taken by the government since political leanings should not prevail over national interests, for instance law and order in the state; there should be consensus when these interests are at stake, he said.

We expect the government to impement the changes that are indispensable at this stage, Mr. MP Mehmed Hodja told parliament on behalf of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. Our confidence in Filip Dimitrov's cabinet does not mean it operates flawlessly, the DPS MPs support the government because of the assurance that they will work for the democratization of Bulgarian society together with the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Don't underestimate the DPS and don't think it is a mere tool in the hands of the SDS, Mr. Hodja said addressing the socialists.

Mr. Georgi Pirinski, speaking on behalf of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, reiterated the motives for BSP's motion for a vote of no-confidence in the government.

Parliament Votes on Dismissal of Assembly Chairman

AU2307165192 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Report on today's National Assembly session by correspondent Svoboda Nedeva from the National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] [Nedeva] We learned 15 minutes ago about the results of the secret vote on relieving National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov before completion of his term of office. An announcement by a five-member commission stated that the total number of those who cast their votes was 230; the ballots for the dismissal of Mr. Savov numbered 115, while the number cast against his dismissal were 112.

The chairman of the voting commission announced that on the basis of these results, in accordance with the Code of Parliamentary Procedure, the National Assembly will not relieve Stefan Savov from the post of National Assembly chairman.

I would not say that the results are auspicious for me, Mr. Savov said in response to the announcement. One of the accusations was that I assisted in the adoption of those laws that society did not favor. I assisted in the adoption of the laws that the majority in parliament proposed, as an expression of the view of the majority of the people, he stated. The laws adopted by the 36th National Assembly allow Bulgaria to start along the path of true democracy—these were Mr. Savov's words following the vote.

From the left side of the hall, however, cries of "Resign!" were heard. On behalf of the parliamentary opposition, Mr. Zhan Videnov explained that 14 of the votes cast for Mr. Savov's dismissal came from the parliamentary majority. The results of today's session present us with an absurd situation, he said. Only one vote was lacking for Mr. Savov to be relieved, Mr. Videnov said, and he accused the chairman of turning the National Assembly into a tool of confrontation and of repressive policies on the part of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Mr. Zhan Videnov called upon Mr. Stefan Savov to submit his resignation himself.

A further unsuccessful attempt of the Bulgarian opposition has concluded, as part of a communist scenario staged against SDS, Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov then stated from the platform. The hidden intent of this vote, in his view, was to strike a blow against the government. He appealed for the personal files of the National Assembly members to be disclosed as soon as possible.

On behalf of the parliamentary group of the Rights and Freedoms Movement, Mr. Yunal Lyutfi expressed their satisfaction that Mr. Savov would remain chairman of the National Assembly.

At any moment now, the National Assembly deputies will start debating item two on today's agenda—a proposal to form a temporary inquiry commission to look into an alleged infringement of Muslim rights in Khaskovo during a religious service.

[Announcer Valeri Todorov] Could you please repeat once more the results of the vote. Were there 115 votes cast against Mr. Savov's dismissal?

[Nedeva] No, it was the other way round: 115 voted for his dismissal, and 112 against. Despite this, in accordance with the Code of Parliamentary Procedure, the National Assembly will not dismiss Mr. Savov as its chairman.

German Bundestag Delegation Arrives for Visit

AU2107050292 Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 20 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 20 (BTA)—A German parliamentary delegation led by the President of the Bundestag Mrs. Rita Suessmuth arrived on a two-day official visit here.

"The idea of the visit is to establish really good relations with your country. Bulgaria, though not painlessly, is making progress and for this reason we will support you," Ms. Suessmut told journalists upon her arrival at the Sofia airport.

Today the German parliamentarians met with National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov, who familiarized them with the reforms underway in Bulgaria. The sides discussed the economic acts of parliament and issues related to social legislation.

This afternoon the German delegation met representatives of the the National Assembly Foreign Policy Committee.

Tomorrow it will be received by President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov.

Meetings With Dimitrov, Zhelev

AU2107205492 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 21 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 21 (BTA)—Germany categorically supports Bulgaria's ambition to be admitted to associate membership in the European Community, we wish that the negotiations take as little as possible, Prof. Dr. Rita Suessmuth, president of the Bundestag, told journalists today before her departure. She highly appreciated the legislative work of the Bulgarian parliament and said that its achievements in this field were internationally recognized. In her opinion Bulgaria already has the economic legislation which will promote the inflow of foreign investment.

Today Dr. Suessmuth and the German delegation had a meeting with Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. The two sides discussed some key domestic and international problems. Special attention was paid to Bulgaria's foreign debt, its creditworthiness and the possibility of making investment in the country. Prime Minister Dimitrov pointed out that the foreign debt problem was not only economic but a political one. Bulgaria needs the support of Germany, the Bulgarian prime minister said. He informed the guests on the tasks the country has got to cope with - economic changes, privatization, structural adjustment of the economy.

Both sides are greatly concerned over the developments in former Yugoslavia. The Bulgarian prime minister expressed his assurance that Germany would help find some settlement to the crisis there and stated that the Balkan countries should be given assistance to resolve their problems.

Today the German parliamentary delegation was received by President Zhelyu Zhelev. At the one-hour talks the two sides exchanged views on the developments in the Balkans, the former Soviet Union and the East European democracies, the president said after the meeting expressing his satisfaction with it.

UK Inspectors Check Compliance With CFE Treaty

AU2307085392 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 22 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 22 (BTA)—The first Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty inspecting team in Bulgaria completed its mission today. One day after the entry of the treaty into force, the Bulgarian military received a note from the UK Government on the conduct of an inspection and verification of an earlier exchange of information about the number of armaments. After the inspecting team completed its work, its leader Colonel Donald Robertson told BTA that he was pleased with the openness with which he had been welcomed at two Bulgarian Army bases near Sofia. There are certain differences between the initial information and the facts which the British inspectors found in this country but, in his view, this is understandable because the information was two years old. The Bulgarian military explained the reasons for the changes and they will be reported to the British Government and then to a consultative group in Vienna. Bulgaria will conduct one and a half times more inspections of compliance with the CFE Treaty than it will receive on its territory.

Police Chief Resigns; Reportedly Due to Pressure

AU2207074592 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Jul 92 p 1

[DUMA PRESS report: "The Chief of Police Has Resigned for Moral Reasons"]

[Text] Colonel Viktor Mikhaylov, director of the National Police, has submitted his resignation to Minister of Internal Affairs Yordan Sokolov. In his letter of resignation, Mr. Mikhaylov reportedly points out that his action was motivated by health reasons. Only very gullible people would believe a similar version, the colonel's colleagues asserted. The main reason for his resignation is his disagreement with the incompetent leadership and total pressure and control exerted on virtually all of his activities, they added.

The fact that the resignation was submitted a week ago and that there is still no official statement by the otherwise efficient press center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs shows that there is some truth to this version, independent observers claim.

Union Leader Reports Large Losses for Fuel Firm

AU2307183592 Sofia BTA in English 1806 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Sofia, July 23 (BTA)—According to Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, Neftochim (Burgas), the biggest producer of petrol in Bulgaria, loses 79,126 leva and 3,366 U.S. dollars in processing each 100 tons of oil, thus securing profits for the Bulgarian state companies Neftoimpex and Petrol, the St. Panteleon Foundation and Marc Rich, a company Podkrepa has raised the alarm about several times before. Dr. Trenchev stated these facts at a press conference today.

The amount of losses and profits has been calculated by Podkrepa economic experts on the basis of documents evidencing the revenue and expenditure of the enterprises involved. Podkrepa received the documents under a government decree issued in connection with the collective employment agreements, the trade union leader explained.

He said that the national budget had lost 5.5 billion leva from the transactions for petrol products made by foundations which had been given tax concessions. According to the president of Podkrepa, the money would hardly be refunded because some people at the top were involved in the affair.

A special parliamentary commission of inquiry was set up to investigate the Neftochim case. Yesterday Dr. Trenchev presented the documents he had in his possession. Dr. Trenchev is one of a large group of people invited to throw light on the case, special importance is attached to his appearance at the commission, Mrs. Virzhiniya Vulcheva, MP for the ruling Union of Democratic Forces and chairwoman of the commission, said later on. The commission maintains that no information should be made public before its work is completed.

Meciar, Klaus Sign ODS-HZDS Political Accord

LD2307185792 Prague CSTK in English 1747 GMT 23 Jul 92

["Full Text of ODS-HZDS Political Agreement—July 23, 1992"—CSTK headline]

[Text] Bratislava (CSTK)—The delegations of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] have agreed that after the approval of this political agreement by their political bodies, they will initiate in the parliamentary clubs of the Federal Assembly, Czech National Council and Slovak National Council, and in the governments, the appropriate steps towards the following agreements:

Part 1—Proposal for the further operation of federal bodies:

Both parties will initiate in the Federal Assembly the following legal measures:

1. FSIS (Federal Security and Information Service)—Legal modification transferring jurisdiction to the republics,

2. Czechoslovak television, Czechoslovak radio, CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY—Legal modification transforming them to joint-stock or other commerical companies with participation of Czech and Slovak television, Czech and Slovak radio and Czech and Slovak news agencies,

3. Prosecutor general—Law altering status of CSFR Prosecutor General's Office

4. Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and Czechoslovak Academy of Agricultural Sciences—Legal modification terminating operation of these organisations. The Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission will continue operating and its research divisions will be transferred to the national (Czech and Slovak) academies. The Federal Bureau of Standardisation and Measurement and the Federal Bureau of Patents and Inventions will continue operating.

Part 2—Proposal for further course of action on constitutional arrangement:

Both parties will attempt to ensure the legitimacy of the process of ending the Czechoslovak Federation. They will push for the Federal Assembly to adopt a "law on the manner of ending the federation and on settling property and other relations" (by September 30, 1992), and will see to it that all proceeds in accordance with this law.

This law may take one of two forms:

—It may stipulate the manner of ending the federation in a clear fashion.

—It may offer several alternatives allowing a flexible choice of the most appropriate solution, corresponding to the actual course of events (a declaration of the Federal Assembly on the federation's end, a bilateral agreement of the national councils, a referendum, a unilateral act by one republic). In the case this solution does not pass, both sides pledge to do the maximum to maintain control of the process of the federation's breakup, ensuring that it proceeds in a calm, cultured and unchaotic fashion.

Both sides will contribute to both national councils finishing debate on the constitutions of the two republics and to the national councils and governments beginning immediately the preparation of an agreement between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic on mutual relations in those areas whose joint or coordinated functioning is in the interests of both republics.

Part 3—Outline of principles for future cooperation between the two independent states:

A. Economic sphere

Both parties will support the immediate conclusion of agreements:

—On a customs union

—On a zone of free trade in goods and services

—On a zone of free movement of factors of production (labour, money and capital)

Both parties will support the creation of joint institutions for the coordination of tax and monetary policy in both countries (similar to the current Financial Council).

Both parties will continue searching for ways to coordinate their budget (fiscal) policies, which is an essential prerequisite for maintaining a common currency. Should this not be possible, the separation of currencies must not lead to the depreciation of citizens' savings in either republic. A separation of currencies will be partially compensated by the formation of a reasonable and effective payments union.

B. Civil sphere

Both parties will act so as to ensure to the maximum extent equal status for the citizens of each republic on the territory of the other republic.

Questions of social relations and benefits, work-related legal issues, execution of court decisions and so on will be resolved on a contractual basis.

C. Foreign policy sphere

Both parties have agreed on the coordination of a joint approach in foreign policy and also on the possibility of joint representation abroad in some countries and organisations.

D. Defence sphere

In the short term, both parties will proceed from the existing deployment of the Czechoslovak Army and from the technical and organisational potential for change, in order that both republics' defence capabilities not be

affected. Finding the desired solution requires further joint negotiations. This agreement was signed in Bratislava, July 23, 1992, by HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar and ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus.

ODS-HZDS Accord 'Rejected,' Referendum Sought

LD2307220192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Representatives of the Democratic Left of Czechoslovakia, the Conservative Party—Free Bloc, the Union of Political Parties, the Movement for Democratic Czechoslovakia, as well as of other political entities met in Brno today. Jaroslav Rektor reports on the results of their talks:

Participants expressed their support for the talks between parliamentary and nonparliamentary parties and movements scheduled for 8-9 August in Bratislava. At the same time, they categorically rejected the results of the latest talks between representatives of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] on 22 July in Bratislava. They said that neither the ODS nor the HZDS had a mandate to break up the common state, the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. Participants of the Brno meeting demand that citizens in both republics be allowed to decide on the fate of our federation in a referendum.

Poll Reveals Majority Against CSFR Split

LD2407111592 Prague CSTK in English 1936 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Prague July 23 (CSTK)—Most of Czechoslovakia's citizens do not want the state to divide in two, would not vote for a split in a referendum, and are less decisive than politicians about the alternatives for the country's state setup.

These are the results of a poll of 603 people in the Czech Republic and 562 people in the Slovak Republic conducted July 2-9 by the Institute for Public Opinion Research and released to the public today.

Following are respondents' preferences with regard to the optimal state setup for Czechoslovakia: (CR; Czech Republic, SR; Slovak Republic).

Setup	CR	Bohemia	Moravia and Silesia	SR
One state with one government	38	40	36	14
Federation of CR and SR	19	20	19	27
Federal Republic of more than two parts	18	12	29	8
Confederation	3	4	2	30
Independent states	16	20	11	16

A poll asking the same question in January of this year yielded the following results:

Setup	CR	SR
One state with one government	37	17
Federation of CR and SR	32	33
Federal republic of more than two parts	18	5
Confederation	4	30
Independent states	5	12

The same survey also found very strong support in both republics for the idea that the future of the common state of Czechs and Slovaks should be decided by the population in a referendum, not by politicians.

Over 80 per cent of those polled in both the Czech and Slovak Republics shared this view.

More than three-fourths of the respondents said they thought a referendum should be held in both republics. Just five per cent in the Czech lands and four per cent in Slovakia said no referendum should be held at all.

Asked whether they would vote in a referendum, 85 per cent of those polled in the Czech Republic and 83 per cent of those polled in the Slovak Republic answered in the affirmative.

The proportion of respondents who would vote to secede from the federation was 32 per cent in Slovakia and 24 per cent in the Czech lands.

Both of these figures are nearly twice what they were in November and December of 1991.

The poll also showed that the general public's views are much more ambiguous than those of Czechoslovak politicians, as only one-third of those surveyed in each of the republics agreed with the position "either a federation or a breakup".

Strasky Evaluates Federal Government's Tasks

AU2307132692 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Jul 92 pp 1,2

[Report on interview with Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky by Jana Havligerova; place and date not given: "Realism as a Concept"]

[Text] In the first point of its policy statement, the Federal Government obliges itself to ensure the continuity of all post-November processes. Even today, however, it has only a few powers that it wants to divide further. Will the government be able to meet its obligation? This is what we asked Prime Minister Jan Strasky.

[Strasky] We are starting the activity of the Federal Government with the same powers that the former government had when its term expired. Now, the question is: How are

we going to redistribute these powers? What powers will be taken over by the existing Federal Government ministries, what powers will be given to the republics, and what powers will we keep in the so-called residual [residualni] bodies, which will certainly be preserved at some ministries and which will be incorporated into the Government's Office? These bodies will be tasked with state administration in their respective sectors.

[Havligerova] Could you be more specific?

[Strasky] Even now it seems—with regard to certain international treaties and the unification of environmental standards throughout the territory of our still common state—that establishment of such a body will be necessary in the sphere of environment. Similar conclusions will probably be reached with respect to the labor and social affairs sector. The scope of joint activity may be smaller in this case, however.

[Havligerova] The policy statement, as far as the economy is concerned, accentuates above all fast and transparent [transparentni] privatization. Ideas about privatization differ sharply in the Czech and the Slovak Republic, however. Can you influence this process somehow?

[Strasky] Should privatization methods be changed—that is some would be omitted and others added—then it would mean a change in the federal law. After a long debate that we had during compilation of the policy statement, the Federal Government stresses in its document that it does not intend to change anything in the basic privatization methods or in its idea that the government considers everyone equal and basically identical.

[Havligerova] Support to private enterprise should be an important activity of the government. In this regard, we hear about new taxes. What is involved?

[Strasky] In the policy statement, in its economic part, there are certain promises that I know very well that the Federal Government can influence only slightly. We have included them to demonstrate that the cabinet is unified even over these points. Yet, in each and every individual case we asked ourselves whether we were able to influence it somehow. I mean support to small and medium-size businesses, the private sector, the said privatization, and others. The Federal Government will have to complete the entire tax system in the month to come. According to information from the Finance Ministry, we will deal with amendments, which are supposed to improve the legal system so that this system can be truly applicable as of 1 January 1993. We will support certain priorities in the private sector.

[Havligerova] There are federal financial means designated for the employment policy, the Market Regulation Fund, etc. Will the existing principles be changed?

[Strasky] For the time being we are building on the agreement that we are not going to change the rule of civic solidarity [obcanska sounalezitost]. In my opinion, there are several important clauses in the budgetary law that reflect this rule. We will have to come up with certain corrections to the budget. These corrections are linked to changes in powers. We have agreed that the basic allocated financial means through which the federation is directly active within the common state—with regard to the employment rate, support to farmers or transformation [of the agricultural system]—will not be reallocated since we would deprive ourselves of our direct influence in the economic space.

[Havligerova] International capital is still coming to this economic—and still common—space. Do you expect disputes over this capital?

[Strasky] Gifts and various injections designated for projects, studies, etc. are one thing. I do not deny that they may become a subject of disputes, and we have to be prepared for them. The government's efforts—described in the policy statement—to attract foreign capital is another issue. This will not depend on the wishful thinking of the Federal Government but on the overall atmosphere that the Federal Government may help create. I would like to stress that, particularly on the Slovak side, a number of illusions exist. One of them is the idea that the government can substantially influence, redistribute, or define the interest of individual Western firms and companies in entering our economy. A bad government can prevent this capital from getting to Slovakia, while a good government can do something substantial to get it there. This is a big mistake. Another illusion—which is not so profound and which can be eliminated, I hope—is the objection of the Slovak side that the entry of foreign capital should not be linked to privatization. I hope that it will be possible to disperse this illusion since privatization is the best way and both sides should be interested in it. It also includes the entry of capital. Not only are financial transactions involved, but also property. We know that he who enters here has different motives than we do.

[Havligerova] Budgetary resources cannot be used to revive the economy. This clause in the policy statement, in principal, contradicts the program proclaimed by the Slovak Government and passed by the Slovak National Council. A backlash effect is most likely.

[Strasky] Even in this case I would like to believe—but I am not so certain—that this also is an illusion or misunderstanding. I must say that, at least in some circles, this is the intention. Whether they realize the consequences or not, the fact is that the Federal Government will have to draw attention to such processes and highlight the instances in which such differences appear in the budgetary policy. Should this happen, we would have a signal that our currency must be separated, and, consequently, the Czech and Slovak Republic divided.

[Havligerova] You are speaking about the fact that our currency is in danger. This danger could come, for example, from commercial banks since the Slovak Government intends to administer them.

[Strasky] Not the budgetary policy alone, but also the complex intricacies of the monetary policy have a direct impact on the currency's exposure to danger and, consequently, on whether we can or cannot have a unified currency. On this point, we are still unable to understand one another since we are dealing with complex problems here. If we look at several of them separately, and say yes or no, then we have said nothing about the monetary policy and how this policy is linked to the common state. Of course, the state cannot influence commercial banks. The only thing it can do is submit certain state orders to the commercial banks. The activity of the Guarantee and Development Bank can serve as an example in the Czech area. The idea that the state, in accordance with its economic policy, will dictate to commercial banks is an idea coming from a system different from the one we are creating and supporting.

[Havligerova] Will the government be able, in your opinion, to maintain the status quo?

[Strasky] To maintain the status quo means to evaluate the situation in its entirety and, as I have said, to report whether this situation is being violated. The Federal Government will announce steps that violate the federal nature of the state, and it expects that the public—who will have to face, directly or through elected representatives, the problem of a final decision—will pay attention to those announcements.

Czech Council Head Views Czech-Slovak Relations

AU2307104492 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Jul 92 pp 1,2

[Interview with Czech National Council Chairman Milan Uhde by Ivo Slavik; place and date not given: "Optimism: Division of the CSFR"]

[Text] [Slavik] What is your opinion on Slovakia's declaration of sovereignty?

[Uhde] As Czechs, we cannot criticize this step. As soon as we start shaking our heads over it, we are making a judgment we are not entitled to make. We are all aware of the controversy of the declaration, and so are some illuminated people in Slovakia. Still, I am of the opinion that certain society must take certain steps to come down to earth later on. I am comparing this to walking when your heel hurts—you are well aware of the fact that you are walking. If you walk without pain, then you walk proudly without realizing that you are walking. I have the impression that the majority of Slovak society felt the need to stress that the Slovak nation exists. When their heel stops aching, their walk will become a matter of course. I believe that everything can return to the European standard, as long as nothing worse happens, nothing to make this excitement, euphoria, and pathos even greater. This is why, when I spoke with the chairman of the Slovak National Council, I constantly repeated that he should not preceive the fact that we are trying to act quickly as an attempt to punish the Slovaks for having despised the federation.

[Slavik] The declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty is quite "pure" from the constitutional point of view. All accompanying phenomena suggest, however, what course the next development is likely to take....

[Uhde] The fact that sovereignty has been declared confirms that the steps announced by Prime Minister Meciar and by the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement will be taken gradually. This means that a Slovak constitution will be adopted. This is nothing new, however.

[Slavik] Vladimir Meciar said that after the Slovak constitution is passed, the Federal Constitution will cease to be valid. This may happen very soon. Is the Czech side prepared for that?

[Uhde] I am convinced that such steps can be taken only after mutual agreement. If we really want to solve the constitutional setup, the Czech side will have to discuss it with the Slovak side and coordinate such steps. I do not believe that it could happen that the Slovak constitution would be passed and become valid without the Czech side having an opportunity to express its opinion on it.

[Slavik] How do you see the president's abdication in this regard? Do you think it is an indication of the CSFR's division in the next future?

[Uhde] I think that this should be understood the way it was meant. The president simply felt that the engine of the federal president's office was idling, and since the president is a man of principle, he did not want to be an important part of such an engine.

[Slavik] You said that the engine of the presidential office was idling. This could be said about the Federal Government too....

[Uhde] I am convinced that the Federal Government's policy statement includes a clear set of tasks that this government will have to deal with for at least three months.

[Slavik] How will the situation develop in the days to come, in your opinion?

[Uhde] I cannot help but be optimistic. Slovak National Council Chairman Gasparovic and I have agreed on the date on which the chairmen and deputy chairmen of the both sides will meet. The meeting will build on the Meciar-Klaus talks in Bratislava on 22 July. I think that this will begin a large series of meetings at various levels with various agendas lasting until 30 September.

[Slavik] Does your optimism mean that two new independent states will live alongside and respect one another?

[Uhde] I am convinced that if I did not believe that we are able to fulfill this idea, I would have no right to stay in office.

[Slavik] At this moment, you are presenting the ideas of a rational politician. However, after Meciar's address to the Slovak National Council at the beginning of last week, the Czech public may develop a very negative mood with regard to Slovakia or with regard to Slovakia as represented by certain policy....

[Uhde] Of course, I cannot prevent this, but Mr. Meciar can if he realizes it and will not repeat this emotional tone again.

[Slavik] In the event that the CSFR is divided, would you feel responsible for the part of the Slovak public that does not agree with the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement policy?

[Uhde] I am an official of the Czech National Council. I am directly responsible to the Czech public. Of course, I am thinking about my friends who are very critical of today's developments in Slovakia. I am of the opinion that if the separation is done in a civilized way, many tensions will ease in Slovakia.

[Slavik] How do you see the possibility of closer cooperation—up to and including reunification of Czechoslovakia—if there are different political representatives in power in Slovakia?

[Uhde] Such talks are possible and even desirable, but this could be done on the condition that the first step is completed; that is, establishment of two independent states with their own international status. When this is done, then, of course, representatives of both countries can discuss various links and relations, even very close ones. Closer than those between mere neighbors.

Knazko Outlines Slovak Foreign Policy Aims

AU2107134092 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jul 92 p 3

[Interview with Slovak International Relations Minister Milan Knazko by Milan Rusko in Bratislava on 17 July: "We Do Not Have To Be Afraid of Discrimination"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Rusko] What will your ministry's first steps be following the declaration of the Slovak Republic's sovereignty?

[Knazko] The activities pursued by the International Relations Ministry following the declaration of sovereignty will be the same as they were previously. At the same time, however, we are preparing a new structure for the ministry that should correspond to its more demanding—or even extremely demanding—tasks. We are aiming to achieve international legal status. We also have to prepare for the possibility that if we do not reach an agreement with the Czech side on a common union of sovereign states, we will have to assume complete responsibility for the Slovak Republic's international relations.

[Rusko] There are different views on the pace of our integration into Europe. What is your opinion following your talks with Council of Europe Secretary General Catherine Lalumiere during her recent visit to Bratislava?

[Knazko] I accompanied Mrs. Lalumiere throughout her visit to Bratislava. Our press reported that she appreciated the opportunity to ascertain the views of the new Slovak representatives and to familiarize herself with the situation in Slovakia. Mrs. Lalumiere spoke figuratively when she said that the Council of Europe regards all European nations as its children. If they behave according to certain rules, there is no reason to encourage one in preference to the others. On the whole, from my recent meetings with Mrs. Lalumiere and other representatives, I have become convinced that even the CSFR's possible breakup—if it takes place democratically and constitutionally—will certainly not lead to discrimination against us in the European integrative processes.

[Rusko] You support the view that Slovakia must make use of the scope given to it by regional policy. What steps do you intend to take in this sphere in the immediate future to ensure that this opportunity is utilized?

[Knazko] I recently participated in the general assembly of the Association of European Regions, where I was elected a member of the committee. I found out that an expansion of cooperation among European regions, conducted on a treaty basis where possible, can only be to Slovakia's benefit. Many regions are prospering economically and are recognized throughout the world. We can see that the community of states and the community of regions are permeating and supplementing each other, and I envisage that these tendencies will be even stronger in the future. Therefore, we will work in this direction and forge further bilateral treaty-based ties.

[Rusko] There is advice from abroad that the CSFR should remain a single international entity. After the state breaks up, you will meet with the statesmen who gave this advice. Will you feel that your relationship is somehow branded because you did not heed their advice?

[Knazko] I have met with many foreign representatives recently and not one has given me such advice. On the contrary, I have the feeling that a certain shift has taken place in the way Czechoslovakia's constitutional and legal arrangement is perceived. All I have heard is that this is our internal affair.

[Rusko] What would you describe as the "main aims" of Slovak foreign policy?

[Knazko] Our primary interest is Slovakia's worthy participation in ever-intensifying European cooperation. In the very near future this will be the alpha and omega of our foreign policy and our future foreign activity will proceed from this. We will emphasize cooperation with our neighbors and with the advanced countries of West Europe, but also with the other countries of the former eastern bloc. We will also bear in mind the extraordinary position of the United States in current international relations. First and foremost, however, we are interested

in making pragmatic use of all opportunities for economic cooperation wherever they arise in the world.

[Rusko] After more than a year, you are returning to the ministry you helped establish. How will you proceed now, at a time when conditions for its work are more favorable? What kind of relationship will you have with the Czech ministry and with the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

[Knazko] Of course, I will not continue where I left off a year ago. All sorts of things have changed. It is possible to follow up on certain things, but new tasks are also coming along.

I will meet soon with the CSFR foreign minister and the Czech foreign relations minister. We will discuss new forms for our cooperation and close coordination.

[Rusko] Relations with Hungary will be one of the most sensitive spheres. What do you intend to do to ensure that the issues that could be described as contentious are constructively resolved?

[Knazko] It is rather naive to think we can get along with neighboring countries without friction and complications. They are conditioned by history and, of course, new problems may also arise. Our Slovak Government has no magic wand. It has, however, the goodwill to utilize all diplomatic means and all frank and sincere channels of communication in order to overcome stereotypes and prejudice. We reject the possibility of the minorities—the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and the Slovak minority in Hungary—becoming a bone of contention in mutual relations. On the contrary, we want relations that accelerate mutual and multilateral cooperation.

Slovak Foreign Minister on Bilateral Relations

LD2407123892 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 22 Jul 92

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko by Sona Jesenska; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Jesenska] We could read in yesterday's newspapers and hear on the television and radio that on the Hungarian side, 50 kilometers from our border and a hundred kilometers from the border with Ukraine, some Hungarian national guard units are being formed or are involved in military exercises. I would like to know your view on this issue.

[Knazko] We must realize one thing: The formation of these national guard units is an internal affair of Hungary and there is no need to give too much importance to these things. On the other hand, it would not be appropriate to voice certain views on the basis of second-hand information. I think that Mr. Annus, Hungarian Defense Ministry state secretary, chose from Meciar's extensive reflection on Slovak-Hungarian relations only what he as a soldier found interesting. It was also second-hand information, and such information is usually a embellished or distorted a bit by the person passing on the information or by the professional interest of the person who receives the information. I would rather draw attention to those views of Mr. Meciar that are also my views; namely, that we are interested in friendly cooperation, in concluding agreements on a common market space, joint business activities, and foreign investment. I am convinced that if we discuss these issues, which are not only most important but also most interesting for today's Europe, we will very soon forget about misunderstandings caused by second-hand information. I also strongly believe that we should stop communicating through the mass media, all the more so since Budapest and Bratislava are geographically so close.

[Jesenska] Another topical issue is the Visegrad Three—or the Visegrad Four? What is your opinion on this issue?

[Knazko] As regards the Visegrad Three, we have been saying for a long time that one number is missing. It should be four, and Slovakia should become a full-fledged partner who will contribute its fair share to this cooperation.

[Jesenska] I would like to hear your view on the issue of the Hexagonale, now the Central European Initiative, in connection with the fact that the Czech side does not seem to be very interested in this organization should our state split up.

[Knazko] I am not in a position to pass judgement on the views of our friends in the Czech lands. I think, however, that all kinds of cooperation between those European countries that have achieved certain economic or political closeness or similarity should continue. I do not think it is right that someone is trying to again divide Europe into West and East; some politicians even said that the division is the Morava River. I am convinced that the contrary is right. We will have to strive for cooperation with other European countries, whether they are the states of the Danube basin, Ukraine, Byelarus, the Baltic republics, or the Russian Federation of course, so that these countries become an integral part of Europe. Therefore, we can extend our common Europe, since any division increases differences and thus, also tensions. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Addresses Senate Session

LD2307142292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0906 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Address by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to the Polish Senate session in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, may it please the Senate. I thank you for inviting me to address the Senate of the Polish Republic. A speech by the newly appointed prime minister before the upper house originates in parliamentary traditions of the Second Republic, when, at the invitation of Wojciech Trapczynski, then Senate speaker in the house's first term of office, successive prime ministers have spoken before the Senate. In accordance with the present constitution and the March constitution, the Senate does not participate in appointing or recalling the government. I am of the opinion, however, that because of the role played by the Senate there is the need for presenting the basic assumptions of government policies before this house.

The government was formed as a coalition government after only a few days of consultations. In my Sejm expose, I called it the government of alliance for Poland, the government of national accord. The government was formed thanks to the role of mediator played by Solidarity, and thanks to the will to build a strong state expressed by the president of the Republic.

One can have different views concerning the origins, character, and stability of this government, but I am of the opinion that the fact of forming the government by different political forces that not long ago competed with each other, and even fought against each other is a fact of such moral importance that it can revive hopes for improvement in our country's situation.

Today I am seeing signs of hope both in Poland and abroad. I am aware, however, that the vote of confidence given to the government can quickly come to an end if this government is not able to prove that it can govern effectively, and that its programmatic assumptions prove correct in the day-to-day functioning of the state.

May it please the Senate. There is no doubt that the expectations attached to the formation of the new government focus, above all, on the economic sphere. In this context, I state that those who seem to suggest that economic difficulties of this scale take place only in Poland, that they are the consequence of the recent years of Solidarity governments, and that they can be overcome quickly and easily are people who show either total political and economic ignorance or who try to deceive the nation, counting on its poor memory.

As prime minister, Wladyslaw Sikorski said over 50 years ago in this chamber that economic issues cannot be solved by any quackery, personal dictatorship, or various ideas. I want to warn the people, the prime minister said then, that they should expect no miracles from the government by believing in various demagogic slogans, various hasty decisions, and various programs. In the present situation there will be no miracles either.

May it please the house. There are many difficult decisions before us. Some of them have been postponed during the cabinet crisis, lasting, in fact, since the end of June, for the sake of political games and contrary to the budget law passed by both houses of our parliament. One can say with full responsibility that systematic work on key issues of the Polish economy may bring visible results. I think that the following factors can decide the success of an economic revival plan: the overcoming of a permanent crisis in the state finances, modernization of Polish agriculture, and resolute actions by the government aimed at changing methods of managing state enterprises and their privatization. The last issue seems particularly urgent in the wake of events of this and the previous week. My government does not want to avoid talks with trade unions, but we are not going to create exceptional rules for specific enterprises and branches under the pressure of strikes. Under the pressure of protest actions, we cannot give privileges to some groups at the expense of others, often poorer and politically weaker. We consider the new definition of the legal, organizational, and economic situation of state enterprises as the most urgent topic for negotiations. In many cases it is going to be difficult for enterprises and their employees, but such is the necessity. We are also aiming at quick implementation of a general privatization program that has been ready for quite a long time. We consider it a part of a wider program of increasing the private ownership share in economic life.

Mr. Speaker, may it please the Senate. We have to work together to get rid of shortcomings inherited both centuries ago and in more recent times. Freedom and the rights of one individual should be subordinate to the good of another individual. Freedom cannot turn into egoism or pursuit of private interests, and it cannot exclude duties. The law has to be just and must be respected. The state has to be understood as the common good. Poland is a republic, that is, the common good belonging to all citizens. Duty transpires from that, which is the solicitude for the state by the citizens. The state authorities are to serve the nation, but at the same time must enjoy due authority and respect. The rulings in the state should be based on democratic principles, on principles of not only the distribution but also the equilibrium of power. The success of the government can only be a reflection of the successes achieved by the Polish people. Poland is going to manage, above all, because the citizens will be able to build their prosperity and the prosperity of their families, benefitting from the regained freedom.

Poland is going to manage thanks to the strength that many of its citizens get from faith and from the presence of the Catholic church in their lives. The Catholic church has helped our nation to preserve identity through centuries of slavery. It gave strength in difficult moments. Its role is also important at present, as is the contribution to public life by other churches and religious communities.

Poland is going to manage if we can jointly overcome a crisis in national education, if we can give young Poles a chance to acquire the best knowledge, if we can make possible the access to latest scientific and technological achievements, and if we are able to pass to them reliable ethical values.

Finally, Poland is going to manage if we are able to build a social and economic deal based on general private ownership. We want—and I stress this once more—the process of general privatization to bring a change in the current situation in which poor citizens cannot take over from the state any of its existing overdeveloped competences.

May it please the Senate: As prime minister I would like to satisfy a general desire for Poland to be a state of justice. Wherever possible I want to redress wronged people. I am of the opinion that criminals and slanderers have to be punished, but I am convinced, above all, that the injustice that is evident today in the free republic has to end, and that everything has to be done for a citizen to consider the state as his own and to feel secure in it. The real authority of the law and the state institutions can only be based on citizens' trust in the state. The state authority in international relations is built not only thanks to the persistent work of diplomats, but also through its stability, efficiency, and ability to defend its sovereignty. This authority is also built thanks to the cooperation of the state with other nations.

I therefore want to repeat that my government will strive for Poland's wide participation in the life of the international community. We want Poland to benefit from the same guarantees of international security as other European countries. We want its citizens to be treated like every other citizen of Europe. Poland wants to confirm its attachment to principles of justice, democracy, solidarity, and peace treated as an integral whole in international life. I would like to emphasize that my government will support activities of the Holy See aimed at the implementation of these principles.

May it please the Senate: The prosperity and authority of Poland can be built only in an atmosphere of accord. Experiences of recent months have taught us all a simple rule. The functioning of democratic institutions requires the will for cooperation. The rules of this cooperation between the most important state institutions, the president, the Sejm, the Senate, and the government will soon find regulations in the Small Constitution, and should be permanently rooted in the constitution of the Third Republic as quickly as possible.

The Senate that guards laws passed by the Sejm has an important role to play in the new order. I hope that my government will have the opportunity to appreciate this role on many occasions.

Let me make one more very personal statement here. Quoting Ignacy Paderewski, I can say at the start of my work as prime minister: My person is of no significance here and plays no role. I have not been reaching for power; I did not long for the honor and I do not long for it now. I have come here to work for the homeland.

Let me finish with the same words as in my Sejm expose. Providence has set us the tasks; I believe that it will give us strength for fulfilling them with dignity.

Thank you. [applause]

Sejm Committee Defines Presidential Powers

LD2407091692 Warsaw PAP in English 2328 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, July 23—The Sejm Extraordinary Committee working on the so-called small constitution decided on Thursday [23 July] that legal acts issued by the president will have to be endorsed by the prime minister or a minister.

Without endorsement, the president will be able to order elections to the Sejm (lower house) and Senate, submit motions to call state figures to constitutional responsibility before the tribunal of state, dissolve the Sejm, submit draft legislations and nominate the prime minister.

Sejm Session Debates Abortion Issue

LD2407103392 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0900 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Text] Abortion is the subject of today's proceedings in the Sejm. Presenting the deputy's bill on the legal protection of the unborn child, that comes from the Christian National Union, Deputy Halina Nowina-Konopka said that the authors of the bill realize that the act includes so many problems that it creates a Gordian knot. Considering what goes into the fabric of that knot, she expressed the view that it was created by the destruction of a system of values and the consumer model of life. She said that a society that does not respect the life of its youngest citizens will surely arrive at a moment when it will die itself.

Halina Nowina-Konopka's speech was commented on by Janusz Korwin-Mikke, who said that it was not so much a report as agitation for the act.

A second bill on the protection of the human embryo and the conditions under which abortion is permissible was presented by Marek Balicki on behalf of the Democratic Union.

[Begin Balicki recording] It is not a question of who is for life and who is against it. It is the problem of finding rational legal mechanisms to contribute to solving some human problems, in the realization that there is no solution in this sphere that will satisfy everybody. That is why we must seek a compromise. [end recording]

The debate on the bills will resume in the Sejm in half an hour. More than 70 deputies are down to speak.

Suchocka, Janowski Discuss New Agricultural Policy

LD2307152192 Warsaw PAP in English 1324 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, July 23—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka Wednesday [22 July] received Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Gabriel Janowski who presented problems constituting the starting point for work on a government agriculture programme, the government press office said Thursday.

As Minister Janowski presented the guidelines of the agricultural policy, the prime minister decided to submit the programme for agriculture and the countryside as one of the first to be discussed by her government.

Both sides discussed also drought and difficulties in purchasing farm produce stemming from shortcomings in the credit system.

Premier Suchocka ordered to ask governors, as founding bodies, to invoke business consequences against directors of cereal enterprises who permitted the diminishing of grain reserves financed by the agricultural market agency.

It has turned out that cereals constituting the reserves financed by the agency were sold by enterprises which thus gained additional and undue profits, diminishing the reserves, the government press office said.

Government Accused of Infringing Union Rights

LD2307232492 Warsaw PAP in English 2159 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Warsaw, July 23—The inter-plant strike committee at the giant "Polska Miedz" copper combine in Legnica (south-western Poland) on Thursday [23 July] accused the Polish Government of infringing basic trade union rights in its handling of the dispute, and announced its intention to bring a charge to this effect before the Geneva-based International Labour Organisation (ILO).

The dispute, now in its fourth day, has closed down all 4 copper mines at the "Polska Miedz" site, and the "Glogow" foundry is now occupied by strikers who have closed down one of the shaft furnaces. The strike committee has ordered all contract workers to leave, and has announced that all future negotiations are to be conducted on the site.

The Krakow-based "Kabel" cable manufacturers announced on Thursday that if the strike continued, the "Kabel" plant would have to close down within 10-14 days. Two other Polish cable manufacturers face similar problems.

In Warsaw, the parliamentary club of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) called on Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to enter into immediate negotiations "without preconditions" with the "Polska Miedz" strike committee.

Meanwhile, disputes deepened in Poland's coal mining industry, with a strike at the "Zofiowka" mine in Jastrzebie Zdroj (Katowice Province, southern Poland). Strikers posted a series of demands, including calls for talks on the future of the mining industry.

The Jastrzebie Zdroj strike was initiated by parliamentary deputies of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), whose leader Leszek Moczulski announced that "there is no help for Poland without help for the economy, and there is no help for the economy without help for mining."

Representatives of 3 trade unions with links to the mining industry announced their sympathy for the strikers, but declined to support the KPN-inspired protest which they described as political.

Prime ministerial adviser Zdobyslaw Milewski also attacked the political nature of the protest, and accused the strikers of making unrealistic wage demands. However, KPN deputy leader Krzysztof Krol claimed that KPN deputies from the Katowice region had a duty to stand with the strikers, and attacked the present government's economic policy.

Also in Katowice, the "Solidarity 80" trade union organised a 1-hour warning strike at the "Huta Katowice" foundry, and demanded wage increases, improved working conditions, and the suspension of the excess wages tax and dividend payments by "Huta Katowice."

At the FSM car plant in Tychy (Katowice Province), the strike committee voted to continue the present strike action. Negotiations between management and representatives of 3 trade unions at the plant, which produces the Fiat "Cinquecento" car, failed to resolve the dispute over pay.

In Warsaw, representatives of the strike committee at the Wsk Mielec aircraft producer (south-eastern Poland) met with representatives of the Labour, Industry and Finance Ministries. In addition to a discussion of restructuring proposals for the Wsk Mielec plant, the government side expressed its willingness to introduce measures to tackle growing unemployment in the region.

Later Michal Boni, secretary of state at the Labour Ministry, announced that a programme of public works would be introduced into the Mielec region, and said that other measures would be introduced in the event that the region is recognised by the government as facing structural unemployment.

Politicians Assess New Government's Prospects

PM2307151492 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 17 Jul 92 pp 1-2

["H.S." report: "Horoscope for Government"]

[Text] GLOS PORANNY obtained the following exclusive statements from politicians:

Adam Glapinski (Center Accord)—It is only with the Center Accord [PC] as one of its members that the coalition [of parties represented in the government] could hope to be strong enough to bring about a stabilization of the situation in the country. The coalition that has actually been formed does not offer such a guarantee. It lacks internal cohesion and it is too weak; moreover, it only has a minimal majority in the Sejm. Consequently, it will be prone to a variety of crises. Everything points to the conclusion that my person was used as a pretext to exclude the PC from participation in the government. I am not sure why the Democratic Union's position gained an upper hand in the negotiations. I was not interested in securing an influential post for myself. From the first day I declared my readiness to be at the PC leadership's disposal, I issued a statement asserting that I was in no way guided by any personal ambitions. I believe that we will be able to judge the true value of the new government in about two or three months. A considerable number of people in ministerial positions are very highly controversial figures. Their actions will be questioned by many observers. I believe that in a short while we will be forced to prepare a new list of proposed replacements for the current government team.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki (Liberal Democratic Congress)—I believe that the direction of changes proposed by the new government is approved by the majority of political groups. The toughest questions that we will face will concern practical realization of the proposed changes. It is not the slogans contained in the prime minister's inaugural speech that decide these matters, but the specific solutions suggested in the operational plans appended to the program. Not until these are known will we be able to see for ourselves the truth about the new prime minister's cabinet. In this respect, I am a moderate optimist.

Aleksander Kwasniewski (Democratic Left Alliance)—I doubt whether this government can achieve success. This is because it has been thrown together on the basis of the so-called Solidarity partnership, and there are substantial differences in the programs put forward by individual political groups within it. There are the proponents and the opponents of affiliation with Europe; there are the proponents and the opponents of state intervention; there are those who recommend that the state's social welfare policy be expanded, and there are those who hold diametrically opposite views. I am not even talking about questions of ideological differences here, such as the abortion issue, and many other matters. I am afraid that the government will find it very difficult to arrive at joint opinions in most matters. As for our own function—that of an opposition party—we intend to fulfill the role of a public monitor who keeps a close watch on all government moves.

Bogdan Lukasiewicz (Polish Peasant Party [PSL])—During our negotiations with the "Small Coalition" we drafted a program that had every chance of successful realization. Among other things, it covered the following questions: reduction of enterprise debts; a proposal for resolving the matter of coal reserves and reducing debts incurred by collieries; a consistent policy toward foreign business offers to buy consignments of Polish copper and other raw materials; guarantees for the steady provision of food supplies, especially in the context of an anti-recession campaign (higher food expenditure necessitating lower demand for and lower sales of consumer durables); and a strategic program for lowering expenditure on imports of consumer durables. It is regrettable that our ways have parted. Nevertheless, we intend to support all sensible policies, and to propose our own solutions where appropriate. The PSL has already demonstrated that it can present a strong and viable alternative. The newly appointed government team includes 15 Sejm deputies and senators; the cabinet proposed by then Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak would have had, among others, five ministers representing the PSL, and eight ministers who were not affiliated with any political party. I will continue to coordinate the work of the PSL task force of specialists working on economic strategies and solutions.

Standard of Living Seen Falling Steadily

AU2307131592 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Jul 92 p 2

[Tomasz Zukowski article: "How We Live"]

[Text] We were better off two years ago than we are today, and we are better off today than we will be in the future. That is the most concise way of summarizing the results of an opinion poll by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] on the subject of the standard of living. No wonder the conclusion is so gloomy; the average monthly per capita income in the family of each respondent was 1,100,000 zlotys [Z], Z250,000 below what is generally considered to be the poverty line.

Our desires are totally removed from the gray reality. The standard of living we would like to have is over 100 percent above what it actually is, according to the figures. We have also set the lower limit of prosperity rather high; the Z2,760,000 monthly per capita income considered to be the minimum level of subsistence is over 2 and ½ times the average monthly family income.

Three-fifths of Poles feel that they are poor. But at the same time, we know that 6 percent of Polish families have a freezer, color TV, video recorder, automatic washing machine, and car; a further 14 percent have four of these five items; a further 19 percent have three of these items; and only 24 percent do not have a single one of them. We also know that there are twice as many people in this latter group in rural areas than in urban areas.

The above figures show that "poor" means different things to different people. But they also show that there are enormous differences in our society. On the one hand, there are millions of people who cannot even afford the cheapest food, but on the hand, 18 percent of all families have managed to buy a new color television

set over the past year, 10 percent have succeed in buying a car, and 3 percent have bought a computer.

Naturally, the poor are more fearful of the future than the rich, and they feel more helpless. These are mostly elderly people, or rural inhabitants, or people with a low-level of education. They include many unemployed persons, employees with poor qualifications, farmers, people with low IQ's, managers, and businessmen.

Each of these groups copes with the new capitalist reality differently. Entrepreneurs claim things were best for them while Bielecki was prime minister. The intelligentsia say Mazowiecki's premiership was the best time for them. But farmers, manual workers, lower-grade clerical workers (including retailers), and large families with children say the best time for them was when Rakowski was prime minister.

The longings of most Poles are geared to the reality of their daily lives. The poor consider prosperity to begin at a lower financial level than the rich. Hardly anyone sets his financial sights much higher than a level capable of being attained by most people (not all, unfortunately).

The problem is not that we want too much. The desire for prosperity induces people to seek extra income that, as the economic text books (at least those textbooks dealing with capitalism) tell us, creates a positive economic juncture.

The point is that very many people, including some who are prosperous, fear the future and succumb to a kind of fatalism. They fail to realize that their chances in the future depend on what they are doing currently. The point is also that the material differences within our society exceed the level considered acceptable by most people. The despondency people feel because they have less than they would like to have, or less than other people already have, may make people wait passively for things to improve of their own accord, rather than work harder. This could also lead to very sharp social and political tension.

Ministry Backs Moldova Political Settlement

AU2307080692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1806 GMT 22 Jul 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/7/1992—Romania understands to commit itself to the efforts for a political settlement of the conflict in eastern Moldova both within political bodies and through other bilateral or multilateral actions, stated Wednesday, July 22, Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Teodor Melescanu at the weekly news conference while referring to the significance of the convention regarding the principles of a peaceful settlement of the armed conflict in the Dniester region signed in Moscow a couple of days ago.

Upon the invitation of the Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase, the minister of foreign affairs of Albania, Alfred Engjell Sarreqi, will pay an official visit to Romania on July 30 and 31, announced Mr. Melescanu. He also informed that France's Foreign Minister Roland Dumas sent a letter to Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase whereby he expressed his wish to visit Romania soon, when the 16th session of the Joint Romanian-French Intergovernmental Commission of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation is to be held, and questions are to be discussed related to the negotiations of the accord on Romania's association with the European Community.

In connection with the third round of negotiations on Romania's association with the European Community recently held at Brussels, Teodor Melescanu assessed them as normal since the basic text of the accord was nearing finalization.

Foreign Minister Receives Turkish Delegation

AU2307195192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1604 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/7/1992—The minister of foreign affairs of Romania, Adrian Nastase, received, Thursday, July 23, a Turkish parliamentary delegation, headed by Ali Dincer [name as received], the chairman of the Commission for Foreign Policy of the National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey, chairman of the Parliamentary Group of Turkey in the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

The Turkish parliamentarians showed their wish to contribute to the development of the ties between Romania and Turkey, of the links between the two neighbor peoples, as part of the relations between Black Sea countries. The chairman of the Turkish Parliament made a proposal, that was received with satisfaction, that a parliamentary union of Black Sea countries be created. The Romanian Parliament is going to give an answer to this proposal at the end of the month of August.

The initiative was evoked that the Association of Turkish Businessmen organise a meeting of Black Sea countries businessmen next month, to which Romanian businessmen are going to be invited.

The Turkish parliamentarians re-asserted that Turkey was willing to grant its support to Romania for it to integrate in European bodies. They expressed their satisfaction at the good conditions national minorities were granted in Romania, permitting them to assert their ethnic and spiritual specificity.

Transport Ministry Issues Bulletin on UN Embargo

AU2307195392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1559 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/7/1992—The July 23 navigation bulletin worked out by the Ministry of Transport shows that 158 ships are lying in Romanian ports under operation, 341 are waiting to be operated, while 153 are sailing on the Danube.

Following the application of the embargo the UN Security Council imposed on Yugoslavia, control is effected over 11 barges under various flags loaded with fuel oil, gasoline, and diesel oil that are making for Yugoslavia. [sentence as received]

In all the said cases the ships came to be loaded or were loaded before the embargo started being applied.

Twelve unloaded Yugoslav barges are waiting for being operated and are free to leave harbours.

Hungarians Protest Prefects' Dismissals

AU2307185592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1730 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/7/1992—A one-hour protest rally attended by about 1,500 participants was held Thursday, July 23, at Miercurea Ciuc, related to a government decision that the prefects of Harghita and Covasna be released from posts.

The rally was opened by a coffin being brought, by which the organizers intended to symbolize the collapse of democracy.

The speakers were vehement against the said governmental decision.

The rally adopted a resolution, which considers the decision taken by the government to be arbitrary and ethnic in character, directed against the Hungarians. The resolution says such a decision is in keeping with the discriminatory practices of the former regime.

The speakers maintained the said decision was an expression of the lack of confidence of governmental authorities in the Hungarians' qualities of leaders in the counties where they hold a majority.

A request was made that a delegation be received by the government, and present its point of view. If the government is not willing to discuss the matter a measure is in view that the discontented Hungarians mark their frustration by wearing a yellow star as a badge. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Comments on Croatia, Refugee Problem

LD2307090692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 92

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina's delegation headed by Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic left for Sarajevo today at 1545. In a brief statement to the press at Zagreb airport, Alija Izetbegovic said that he has already spoken about his impressions following his two-day visit to Croatia and that these impressions are positive. He hopes nothing will mar them.

Commenting on the part of the agreement on friendship and cooperation which refers to Bosnia-Hercegovina's defense from aggression, signed yesterday by Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Izetbegovic stressed that this is a step forward. He added that for the time being it is a matter of cooperation and coordination in the border zones. He added that if the moves made by the international community go amiss and fail to yield any results, then "we will most likely take some more specific measures to this effect." Speaking about the protocols on economic cooperation and aid for refugees signed today, President Izetbegovic said that the problem of refugees is serious. People should not be overly optimistic and think that this problem can be solved easily and quickly.

There is one fortunate circumstance, though. The world is supporting us and is willing to do a great deal for the refugees in order to help us, as well as for its own reasons, Izetbegovic said. He stressed that the world is willing to help financially as well. Izetbegovic added that this issue should be resolved in as humane a way as possible so the refugees will not be separated from society. I hope that with the help of the world we will succeed in achieving this.

Prime Minister Comments on Talks in Croatia

AU2307193192 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Report by Nada Rajkovic]

[Text] At today's news conference, Bosnia-Hercegovina Prime Minister Jure Pelivan repeated that two agreements were signed during the visit to Croatia. In addition, the leaders also held inter-governmental talks on economic cooperation and securing conditions for resolving the refugee problem. A protocol on economic cooperation was signed that will facilitate free trade between the two states. They also discussed the possibilities for signing long-term agreements—for example, an agreement on using the port of [word indistinct] and rebuilding the disrupted traffic network.

Regarding the payments operations system, Jure Pelivan said it was agreed that the system would continue to be based on the principle of non-residential bank accounts in domestic or convertible currency. Pelivan's answer regarding the so-called sensitive issues that were discussed in Croatia raised the greatest interest.

[Begin recording] It was demanded that the future position be defined. The representatives of Croatia, interpreting the goals and wishes of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina as a section of the entire Croatian (?nation), wanted to emphasize the need for equality of the ethnic communities. We then discussed regionalization—that is to say, the issues concerning cantonization, a possible form of organization, and also which principles would be dominant in the organization of the internal (?structure of the republic). Regarding regionalization, we stated that we had already taken our stand in the Presidency's platform and in the government stands where we adopted four principles—economic, historical, (?natural), and ethnic, cultural and ethnic [Pelivan repeats himself]—and we emphasized that the principles of equality of ethnic communities can be fulfilled within the framework of the search for a suitable solution. Our partners told us that perhaps the term regions was not the most suitable solution, [passage indistinct] in Bosnia-Hercegovina but in other places. Therefore, they demanded that it be included in the agreement that (?decentralization) will be made possible to (?all) constituent units. We did not further elaborate on the definition and possible meanings of this term; we left this for future talks and debates, but we completely agreed that this does not mean that the ethnic principle will be predominant, but coexistent of the people who live in a particular region. [end recording]

Journalists also expressed an interest in the issue of Bosnia-Hercegovina currency. Jure Pelivan said that there were no (?political) reasons why Bosnia-Hercegovina was still not using its currency. The reasons are the control of the territory and safety of transportation.

Karadzic Opposes Izetbegovic-Tudjman Agreement

LD2307173892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Pale, 23 Jul (TANJUG)— "Alija Izetbegovic, the leader of Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and President of Croatia Franjo Tudjman signed a new cooperation agreement to enable Croatia to avoid international sanctions after it became clear that it was Croatia and not Serbia or Yugoslavia that was militarily involved in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina," Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina stated today.

Speaking at a news conference Karadzic stressed that the agreement, signed in Zagreb two days ago, was designed to legitimize Croatia's military presence in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"This agreement is of no importance to the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina," Karadzic said, and went on to add that "Alija Izetbegovic's signatures are not binding for the Serb nation."

"In our view the agreement was signed much earlier. That it was in the cards was obvious as far back as at the founding assembly of the Party of Democratic Action

[Stranka Demokratske Akcije] when Dalibor Brozovic defined Croatia's borders as being on the Drina River (eastern Bosnian border with Serbia)."

Karadzic explained that to the Serb people the situation had become clear when the Muslim-Croat coalition started to function under the same flag, symbols and rhetoric as used in 1941 when Serbs were taken to concentration camps or were killed and thrown into mass graves.

According to Karadzic, what Izetbegovic has done is "much more honest, since in this way he has disclosed his intention to create an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina as an integral part of an independent Croatian state, NDH. (World War II pro-Nazi state of Croatia). All that remains to be clarified is whether this state will be a confederation or something else, he said.

"To Izetbegovic's great misfortune, he does not have at his disposal a large enough piece of Bosnia-Hercegovina territory as to have the right to enter into state agreements," Karadzic said. In Karadzic's view, Izetbegovic is "merely an official of former Bosnia-Hercegovina, and as far as (Bosnian) Serbs are concerned, he can do what he wants with his part of the territory."

Referring to Croatians in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic said that "it is extremely unusual for the head of the state of Croatia to have control of the fate of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

"This indicates a total lack of autonomy for the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, or rather its total subjugation to the authorities in Zagreb," Karadzic said.

"Although the Serb nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been accused of links with Belgrade, their nature is completely different. Serbia respects our asiprations and our legitimate rights, but has never concluded agreements on our behalf," Karadzic stressed.

The president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina expressed a belief that Croatians in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be allowed to maintain their sovereignty within Herceg-Bosna, their recently formed autonomous region.

Butrus-Ghali Views Enlarging UN Military Mandate

LD2407080692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0451 GMT 24 Jul 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, July 23 (TANJUG)—U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on Thursday [23 July] said he had not completely rejected the idea of enlarging the mandate of the United Nations' Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the war-racked former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He explained he believed such a course of action was not possible at the present time and was acceptable only if the European powers would actively help.

Butrus-Ghali, who had on Wednesday rejected the Security Council's recommendation that heavy weaponry in Bosnia-Hercegovina be placed under the control of U.N. military observers, now proposed that consultations be conducted with the member-states and relevant European regional organizations to investigate the possibility of concrete contributions in manpower and equipment.

In a closed-door consultative session of the Security Council, Butrus-Ghali explained his caution in accepting any new obligations for the U.N. with the fact that U.N. coffers were depleted while numerous other crises waited to be dealt with.

He urged closer cooperation between the U.N. and Europe in dealing with the Yugoslav crisis and upheld the idea that the U.N. be included in the peace process through an international conference on Yugoslavia.

The European Community nations—members of the Security Council (Belgium, France and Great Britain) on Thursday submitted a draft resolution upholding both the Council's view that an enlargement of the mandate of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Hercegovina was necessary in the interests of world peace, and Butrus-Ghali's argument that it was not feasible at the moment.

The draft resolution, which will be discussed on Friday night, asks of Butrus-Ghali to make all the necessary preparations for enlarging the role of UNPROFOR, and to launch the operation when conditions have been created, i.e., when cease-fire has been consolidated in Bosnia-Hercegovina and all sides have demonstrated their willingness to begin putting heavy armament under international control.

UN Military Delegation Arrives in Gorazde

LD2307171192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Gorazde, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—A French delegation from the UN Protection Force today visited Serbian [Bosnian Serbs] Army positions in the Gorazde suburbs of Povrsnica and Obarak on the left bank of the Drina.

During the day or tomorrow, the delegation will try to enter the town itself, which since the beginning of the war has been in the hands of Muslim green berets and their henchmen from the military wing of Croatian Party of Rights [HOS] and Croatia's national guard corps.

It has been 80 days since the start of the conflict between the Serbs and Muslims of Gorazde. Even before the war started, the latter were joined by green berets and HOS units from Foca, Visegrad, Cajnice, and Rogatica.

Muslim Forces Block Humanitarian Aid Convoy

LD2307202492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1819 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Pale, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—Muslim forces intercepted and blocked the convoy carrying humanitarian

aid that left Sarajevo for Gorazde under UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] escort today. This was reported by the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina television this evening. A correspondent said that the column was cut off between Rogatica and Ustipraca, near the village of Dobrijevici.

The convoy, also accompanied by UN High Commission for Refugees representatives, today passed safely through Pale and other Serbian territories, until it reached the territory controlled by Muslim forces.

A Serbian television correspondent reported that UNPROFOR representatives requested the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to send one unit to help lift the blockade of the section of the convoy that had been cut off.

Pelivan on Currency Circulation, Cooperation Issues

LD2307171992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina currency has been printed and there are no political reasons why it should not be put into circulation, Bosnian Prime Minister Jure Pelivan stated today at a regularly scheduled news conference in Sarajevo's international press center. Pelivan cited transport problems and an inability to control the territory in which the currency would be circulated as the reasons holding up issuing the currency.

Pelivan's comments today focused on talks that the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation held with Croatian representatives in Zagreb two days ago. Pelivan stated both sides agreed that the accord on currency transactions should continue to be upheld, so that money transactions between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina can continue, despite being carried out via non-resident accounts in domestic or convertible currency.

Commenting on the so-called sensitive issues discussed at the bilateral talks, Pelivan said that they did not discuss the issue of Bosnia-Hercegovina sovereignty. However, the issue of equality for all three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina was raised; but this did not include the ethnic cleansing of territories.

Pelivan told journalists that the government had not bought arms for the defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina. He said that instead the government was opting for political means to halt the war.

Meanwhile, Pelivan noted that Bosnia-Hercegovina was not in the position to prepare for an armed struggle in a very short period of time; therefore, it had opted for alternative means. In addition, he noted, all weapons and military equipment of former Yugoslavia are in the hands of the aggressor. Therefore, any funds for buying the arms necessary to counteract such military might would be inadequate.

Yugoslav Conference Discusses Division of Property

LD2307114692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1038 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, July 23 (TANJUG)—There are very few problems in talks on sharing the power facilities of former Yugoslavia among its original six republics, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI reports on Thursday [23 July].

The working group of the European Community-sponsored Yugoslavia Conference which deals with the issue of succession to former Yugoslavia met on Monday for what promises to be a marathon session. The first round is due to end on Friday.

The only disputable property is the Yugoslav oil pipeline. Oil refineries in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in Serbia claim they have participated in financing its construction, while Croatia denies it, says VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

The pipeline was built to transport crude from an oil terminal in the Island of Krk in the Croatian section of the Adriatic to oil refineries in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina. In September last year, Croatian authorities blocked the flow on the section passing through the predominantly Serb-populated region of Croatia (now the republic of Serb Krajina) and seized 200,000 tons of oil destined for Serbian refineries.

The situation is much more clearcut with the Yugoslav posts, which in 1960 divided their assets among the six republics. Only underwater cables and satellite stations abroad remained joint property, says VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

Railway tracks, engines and cars were also divided 30 years ago among the republics, and all outstanding issues were resolved at a meeting of their executives on June 3 in Paris.

The division of assets and liabilities should also be easy where the association of Yugoslav power producers is concerned, the paper says, and should be shared on the same principles on which they were bought and built.

However, an inventory of the assets and liabilities of former Yugoslavia shows that the former federal units have failed to reach agreement on how to share the power facilities, says VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

"It seems that the problem is not the assets, but an attempt by Slovenia and Croatia, and probably Bosnia-Hercegovina, to obtain war indemnity through the working group on succession," it adds.

The experts meeting in Brussels agreed not to discuss the subject. Croatia insists on precise figures for war damages it said it suffered in last year's war with the Yugoslav People's Army.

The experts from Serbia and Montenegro also want a debate on war damages, but say it should cover damages from the two world wars too.

In World War Two, Croatia fought with Germany and Italy against Serbia and Montenegro, which were on the side of the allied forces.

Serbian Municipality Formed in Croatian Area

LD2107165292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 21 Jul 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—The Serbian population of the Stolac municipality recently formed their own municipality of Berkovici, the seat of which is in the village bearing the same name.

Civilian authorities and municipal bodies are currently being formed; refugees, whose number in this municipality is approximately 3,000, are provided for by the newly-set up municipality.

Stolac is the only municipality in Eastern Hercegovina in which the Serbs are not the majority population; the town of Stolac is under the control of Croatian forces.

Serbian Ministry Publishes Background Data

AU2307093592 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 92 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Facts About Bosnia-Hercegovina"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Serbian Ministry of Information has published a booklet in English entitled "Who Is Who and What Is What in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

This interesting publication, which has aroused considerable interest among foreign journalists, presents the political, historical, religious, cultural and other circumstances that have brought about the tragic war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"Bosnia is a smaller version of Yugoslavia," the book states, "so it was natural for the disintegration of Yugoslavia to result in a similar process in Bosnia." In Bosnia, three questions remain open: the relations between Serbs and Croats, Serbs and Muslims, and Croats and Muslims.

The largest part of Bosnia-Hercegovina, this book maintains, is Serbian country. The Serbs are not recent arrivals in Bosnia, as one can occasionally read, but they have been for centuries the indigenous and majority ethnic community in Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to the census following the Austro-Hungarian occupation (1879), Serbs made up 43 percent of the total population. According to the 1937 census, they made up 44 percent.

Throughout history, the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina have been consistently in the majority. The percentage dropped after the First World War, and even more so after the Second World War, during which they were subjected to the worst forms of genocide.

The facts show that even now the number of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina is higher than the 1981 census indicated. Because of anti-Serb propaganda, many Serbs, particularly in the cities, declared themselves as Yugoslavs in that census.

Taking into account the number of places and territories they inhabit, the Serbian population even now has a dominant position in the ethnic and territorial composition of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Serbs are in the absolute majority in 2,439 out of the total of 5,857 habitations. Habitations with a Serb majority take up 53 percent of the total territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

These empirically irrefutable facts lead to the conclusion that the idea of an ethnic cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina is the best road to equal co-existence among the three constituent ethnic communities.

This publication by the information ministry also gives precise information on the history, status, and distribution of the other two ethnic groups in Bosnia-Hercegovina. A separate chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the philosophy and practice of Islamic fundamentalism, embodied in Alija Izetbegovic's "Islamic Declaration."

Foreign Minister Meets With EC Ambassador

LD2207124192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Jul 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Dr. Zdenko Skrabalo today received EC Ambassador Marc Janssens. They discussed current economic and political relations between the Republic of Croatia and the European Community. They stressed Croatia's interest in reaching an economic agreement between Croatia and the EC, in financing Croatia's reconstruction by the EC, and the participation of the Republic of Croatia in the Phare, Tempus, and (?COS) programs.

Ambassador Janssens informed Minister Skrabalo that the EC commission postponed a decision until autumn on whether the republics of the former Yugoslavia will be allowed to use financial resources for the Phare program because it wants to apply the same criteria to everybody.

Refugees From Bosanski Novi Arrive in Karlovac

LD2307203192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Excerpt] The first group of refugees from Bosanski Novi arrived in Karlovac shortly before 1830.

UN Protection Force trucks brought 250 women, children, and men to the area by the sports hall and the nearby stadium. Another 4,000 refugees are expected. They left northwest Bosnia for Karlovac via Vojnic at about 0900 in 60 coaches and about 200 private cars. [passage omitted]

Muslim, Croat Parties Seen as Election Partners

LD2307093692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 22 Jul 92

[Excerpt] At a news conference today, the Croatian Democratic Community presented the Croatian Muslim Democratic Party [Hrvatsko Muslimanska Demokratska Stranka] as its partner in the election bloc. Sanja Cota reports:

[Cota] Spokesman Rusmir Agacevic said that the Croatian Muslim Democratic Party rallies all Muslims living in Croatia who consider themselves Croatians or Muslims. Agacevic added that this party wants to correct the negative attitude toward the Party of Democratic Action and its leaders which was created in Croatia. The party itself is not happy with how the Party of Democratic Action represents the Muslims' interests here. [passage omitted]

Polls Show Support for Tudjman, Croat Community

92BA1210C Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jul 92 p 8

[Article by B. Stipic: "Confidence in the Croatian Democratic Community and Dr. Tudjman"]

[Text] Zagreb—Between 21 and 31 May, more than 2,300 respondents from peaceful and war-torn areas of Croatia answered more than 50 questions about the peacekeeping action of the United Nations, the Croatian Government, parties and political figures, and also the future of Croatia for researchers of the Institute for Applied Social Research of Zagreb University. The survey did not include the occupied areas. The researchers presented the results at yesterday's press conference.

During the last 10 days of May, before the elections were scheduled, a third of Croatian public opinion favored the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community]; at that time, 32 percent of the voters would have voted in the election for that party, 11.1 percent for the HNS [Croatian People's Party], and 8.6 percent for the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party]. All of 32.2 percent of the respondents did not know at that time what party they would vote for, and 6 percent replied "For no one." A comparison with the results of a survey conducted late last year showed that in the peaceful areas the number of voters for the HDZ had risen 1.2 percent, the HSLS had 7.1 percent more voters, and the HNS almost 4 percent fewer. In the war-torn areas, the number of voters for the HDZ increased 8 percent, that of the HSLS remained approximately the same, and the HNS lost 4 percent of the votes.

The HDZ, the results of the survey showed, is a typically right-wing party, with emphasis on the Christian tradition and the ethnic program. Its voters are mainly in their later years, they do not have much education, they are mostly housewives and retired people and religious people. The other two rival parties are parties of the center, more critical of left-wing political options than the incumbent party. The voters of the HSLS are mainly young and better educated—students and the unemployed from urban environments. The voters of the HNS, on the other hand, according to the survey, are between the voters of the HDZ and the HSLS in the composition of the population.

On the list of parties for which people would not by any means vote, the SNS [Serbian National Party] was the leader; 21.2 percent of the voters would not vote for it by any means in the peaceful areas and 27.4 percent in the war-torn areas. Then came the HSP [Croatian Rights Party], which 21.2 percent of the voters were against in the peaceful areas and 13.5 percent in the war-torn areas. In third place is the SDP [Democratic Reform Party], and then the HDZ, opposed by 6.9 percent.

Among the uncommitted voters at the end of May, there was considerable representation of the ethnic minorities disinclined toward the ethnic programs of the leading parties and voters whose commitment is by and large regional. Most of them will decide only in the polling places, said Dr. Vesna Lamze-Kovacevic, the chief researcher.

In the opinion of 26 percent of the respondents, the incumbent party has fully justified the confidence shown it in the last election, while 53.3 percent would add the

word "partially." Some 26.3 percent of the respondents completely agree with the way Dr. Franjo Tudjman has conducted himself as president of the Republic, 51 percent replied that they by and large agree, and 12.3 percent that they by and large do not agree. The president received high pluses in the war-torn areas of Croatia, where in late May 27.7 percent of the respondents completely agreed with his way of doing things, while late last year this figure was 12.3 percent. Among the most important things for which the respondents give him credit are Croatia's international recognition—27.7 percent, Croatia's independence—24.9 percent, while 47.8 percent are unable to single out anything in particular. Dr. Tudjman would be elected president of the Republic by 37.9 percent of the respondents, 15 percent of them would favor Drazen Budisa, and 11 percent Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar.

Paraga on Pressures on Croatian Rights Party

92BA1203B Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jul 92 p 5

[Article by D. Djuretek: "Pressures on the Croatian Rights Party"]

[Text] Zagreb—"The new political trial of Dobroslav Paraga, leader of the Croatian Rights Party [HSP]," which is scheduled for today at 0900 hours in the Zagreb District Court, and what was referred to in the invitation as the "high treason of Mate Boban" were the main topics of yesterday's press conference of the HSP. There was also something said about the work of the party's campaign committee and the work done so far concerning the candidacy of D. Paraga for president of the Republic of Croatia and the candidacy of deputies for the House of Representatives of the Croatian Assembly.

D. Paraga said that the HSP had issued a Campaign Declaration, a document with which the Rightists will enter the campaign and which contains the party's main guidelines and objectives. In addition, he said, a proclamation of the HSP has also been printed up; it shows "why the president of the Republic is responsible for the present disastrous situation in Croatia." The HSP, Paraga said, "offers the truth, yet that truth continues to be frustrated and its antagonists hindered and imprisoned, which continues to be the work of the incumbent party."

Paraga said in that context that he himself had been hindered. "Instead of attending a large campaign meeting on Hvar, today I will be in the District Court in Zagreb, because criminal charges have been filed in two indictments against me; this is the work of Vladimir Seks, and they pertain to crimes that do not exist," the president of the HSP said. This monstrosity, he emphasized, "is aimed at stopping the most serious rival in this election campaign." He also said that "he considers such elections and this kind of election system irregular, and even more so now with this trial."

The party's attorney, Zvonimir Hodak, spoke about the groundlessness of the charges against D. Paraga.

The president of the HSP also said that "what Mate Boban has done is for us an act of the greatest high treason." He emphasized that "at this moment striking at the foundations of Bosnia-Hercegovina is equivalent to tearing down Croatia and is on a par with Serbia." This is the "Kosovo plan," and "the HSP accords full support to the Bosnian Government and to Alija Izetbegovic." We do not want, he said, "for Croatia to remain after these elections the only oasis of neobolshevism aside from Serbia."

Mario Mihaljevic spoke about the new "scribomaniacal outbursts of Kresimir Pavelic, a sick man," and he said that they are "aimed at discrediting the HSP, and we know by whom."

Boris Kandare, chief of the campaign committee of the party, said that the day before yesterday the party turned over 13,525 proper signatures supporting the candidacy of D. Paraga for the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia, and this has been recorded with the Election Commission. However, he emphasized, because on 5 July, right in front of the Starcevic Center, the party's automobile carrying the signatures had a traffic accident, about 15,000 more correct signatures were carried away from that automobile. The job of drawing up the government list has also been completed, Kandare said. The list has been filled out entirely, the 80 candidates have come forth and accepted their nominations.

Croatian Opposition Council To Monitor Elections

92BA1203F Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 92 p 9

[Article by Branko Podgornik: "Sharp Criticism of the Incumbent Party"]

[Text] Zagreb—On 4 July, the opposition parties decided to establish a special opposition committee to monitor the elections so as to have some impact on their propriety. In a meeting of the Coordinating Committee of the Opposition Parties conducted by Dr. Ljubo Antic (HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party]), it was emphasized that this committee would operate until the elections, and along with its own representatives, the opposition will try to get representatives of Helsinki Watch and the Croatian Society for Human Rights involved in the work of the committee.

On Saturday, the parliamentary opposition parties again made a number of critical comments about the behavior of the incumbent party on the eve of the elections. "Our expectations that the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] will use the government apparatus in its own interest are now coming true," said Slobodan Budak (HNS [Croatian People's Party]). He recalled that the "meeting of the HDZ on the day when Dr. Tudjman was nominated to run for president of the Republic was given a half hour of coverage on Croatian TV [HTV], while all the opposition parties together probably did not get that much during the entire week that followed." Budak saw as "tasteless" the program of HTV on Friday evening in

which a nine-year-old child suggested that over the last nine centuries there has been no figure more deserving among Croats than Franjo Tudjman. The program reminded me of the motto: "Even after Tito—Tito."

Zeljko Olujic (a candidate on the government list of the HDS [Croatian Constitutional Party]) called for the Election Commission of the Republic to issue instructions as to how voter lists abroad are to be prepared: "Can Croatian citizens abroad be registered on voter lists on the basis of their residence permit, on the basis of former Republic citizenship, their birth certificate, or something else? That is," Olujic noted, "I have information that pressure is being put on Zlatko Crnic, chairman of the Republic Election Commission, for the elections abroad to be conducted in the most flexible possible way." Budak called upon the competent people to make public how many registered voters there are abroad.

Ljubo Antic (HSLS) and Goran Biljan (HKDS [Croatian Christian Democratic Party]) have called for an extension of the period for preparatory operations related to the elections in Dubrovnik, because right up until 3 July the people of Dubrovnik were in shelters and were unable to make the preparations. Several speakers emphasized the problem of the shortage of forms for candidates to file, and Biljan said that there are none in the areas of Split and Slavonia.

Mario Mihaljevic (HSP [Croatian Rights Party]) protested Droboslav Paraga's being summoned to court a day before the election campaign begins. "Nor is it an accident," Mihaljevic added, "that a new Rightist party was registered in a big hurry on the eve of the elections."

Mate Ljubas (HSP) saw the formation of the new party as an "attempt to break up the HSP."

Drazen Budisa (HSLS) called for the competent bodies to explain how and where the refugees will vote. "For instance, will all the refugees from Petrinja vote in one election unit? Does that mean that they will not be able to vote if they happen to be in one of the other 60 election units?" Budisa asked.

Goran Biljan said that the seat of Election Unit No. 28 had been moved from Ogulin to Karlovac, and Mate Arlovic (SDPH [Social Democratic Party of Croatia]) found this to be a violation of the regulations, and he said that the seats of the election units must not be outside those units. Arlovic said that members of minorities have the right to vote "not only for representatives of their minorities, but also for other candidates for which all citizens vote." Josip Laus (HSS [Croatian Peasant Party]) proposed that all the presidential candidates publish an inventory of their property. Mladen Mesic (SDH [Social Democrats of Croatia]), Zoran Abramovic (SDH), Silvije Degen (SSH [Socialist Party of Croatia]), Marinko Zovko (KNS [National Compact Coalition]), Pero Badovinac (HNS), and others took part in the discussion.

Federal

Foreign Minister Comments on Diplomatic Relations

LD2307134392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0827 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, responded to TANJUG's request for an interview and expressed his views of the federal diplomatic service's immediate and long-term tasks and objectives, of pressures and threats from abroad, the failures of the EC-sponsored Conference on Yugoslavia, the sanctions and chances for lifting them, and war and peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The interview was conducted by TANJUG's diplomatic editor, Stevan Cordas.

[Cordas] You are going back to your old department, but in a different position. You probably have your own ideas of how the federal diplomatic service will operate in the future. Will professionalism be an exclusive criterium or will "Buggins' turn" [kljuc] also be applied?

[Jovanovic] I am going back to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an old-new man; old because of my experience in the previous federal secretariat for foreign affairs, and new because of my firm belief that under present new conditions the Yugoslav diplomatic service must change many aspects of its work. Changes are expected to be made in the organizational and professional aspects of the service, where more rationalization and professionalism are needed and where optimal targets and models achieved by countries of similar size to ours should be the guiding example.

Our diplomatic service must reflect the present-day, "reduced" Yugoslavia and must rid itself of the megalomaniac-like behavior which was so characteristic of the service in the preceding period. The diplomatic service must perform an immediate and direct function in the service of the FRY.

We are faced with a major task of reorganizing and "reeducating" the diplomatic service cadres in the sense of making them accept the service in the way it is done in all professional diplomatic services in the world. Professionalism should be our prime principle.

In view of certain weaknesses affecting our professional cadres currently, which are the result of the fact that for years professionals from Serbia and Montenegro were ignored, we will, at least initially, need people from other public spheres. In selecting these people, we will be guided primarily by the principle of professionalism rather than personal wishes.

[Cordas] You have been chosen to head the Yugoslav diplomatic service in an exceptionally difficult and complex period for Yugoslavia. In view of this, what is going to be your main task as the minister of foreign affairs?

[Jovanovic] Our diplomatic service must closely reflect the needs of the FRY, which is currently facing exceptionally complicated and, I would say, unique challenges. I am not referring here just to external difficulties caused by the sanctions and attempts to completely isolate or even deny the existence of Yugoslavia, but also to the fact that our state is beginning to function in a transformed and halved Yugoslavia. We are also faced with the fact that the great and noble idea of Yugoslavdom is under a fierce attack from other republics and their leaders. This idea has been seriously undermined. This means that it will take a long time before the generation which is now being seen as an advocate of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia heals the wounds and before the people in the republics which have seceded begin to understand that they have been victims of an illusion or even of deliberate deception. At that moment, they will begin again to search for common denominators on the basis of which to forge new forms of cooperation and relations on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Until this has been done, we will have to overcome many psychological handicaps and restrictions. Our first tasks are in connection with the abolition of sanctions, in other words, prevention of the continuation of Yugoslavia's isolation and recognition of the continuity of the state.

The new FRY government has launched a strong peace offensive. We believe this will leave us more room for maneuver. This primarily relates to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina in which we are calling for simple things such as an immediate and unconditional cessation of all hostilities, immediate, and unconditional resumption of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, and for the three constitutive nations to agree on their future relations as soon as possible. In this framework, the issue of diplomatic recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina and other Yugoslav republics will successfully be resolved.

[Cordas] The complexity and seriousness of the situation is above all delimited by UN Security Council sanctions. What are the chances of fulfilling UN Security Council demands and removing the sanctions and international isolation?

[Jovanovic] Sanctions really did delimit the internal situation and Yugoslavia's abilities at the moment. We do not contest the fact that all demands from the UN Security Council resolutions must be fulfilled. We already started the process of fulfilling them over a month ago.

The fulfillment of some demands really depends on us, but the demilitarization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the disbanding of irregular forces in that republic, and the control of heavy weapons are beyond our control and must be fulfilled together with other factors with the agreement of the three national groups in close cooperation with the UN Security Council. In everything else, we are absolutely able to fulfill conditions both in relation to the UN Security Council and to the CSCE.

However, new demands and conditions are being added to the sanctions. This is being done primarily by smaller groups of countries which have been displaying very militant behavior and impermissably been interfering in our internal situation. Such behavior is at odds not only with the UN Charter but also with the basic principles of the CSCE Charter. This is obviously not the time of principles and legality, but the time of force and interests and we have to count with that reality.

Among the new demands, there have been some very serious ones that are indicative of the attempt to internationalize the issue of certain regions in the FRY. This is a sign of a dangerous process, which, if it succeeds, could have unfavorable results not only for the FRY but also for others.

[Cordas] How do you assess the achievements of the Conference on Yugoslavia under the auspices of the European Community?

[Jovanovic] We are dissatisfied with the work of the conference on Yugoslavia so far, and also with its results. In comparison with what the United Nations has done in the process of the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, the results achieved under the EC auspices are meager and negative.

The Conference on Yugoslavia has been convened primarily to help Yugoslavia pull out of the crisis more easily. Unfortunately, very soon both the conference and the EC "got rid" of Yugoslavia by accelerating its disintegration by hastily recognizing the independence of its individual republics.

We believe that a new and expanded Conference on Yugoslavia will provide a much wider and more objective political framework for analyzing all aspects of the Yugoslav crisis and for overcoming it in a sensible way. We have given our strong support to initiatives for such a conference and have been in close contact with France, whose President Mitterrand is behind the idea.

This expanded Conference on Yugoslavia does not mean an end to the conference in Brussels or an end to the Conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina. On the contrary, we see all these conferences as a part of a whole and the planned expanded conference will provide assistance to the one in Brussels.

[Cordas] Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic indicated the possibility of establishing relations with former Yugoslav republics and of their being recognized by the FRY. What status will Serb Krajina have in this context?

[Jovanovic] From the very beginning, the FRY Government and its prime minister have been pursuing actions to explain our plan for resolving the Yugoslav crisis. The issue of recognition for the former Yugoslav republics by the FRY is an integral part of the efforts to resolve current open isues. As far as the FRY is concerned, there are no obstacles to our recognizing these republics by recognizing their territorial integrity and borders, providing, of course, that there is a positive denouement in these republics and that in Bosnia-Hercegovina the three nations eventually reach an agreeement and the FRY's right to continuity is no longer disputed.

As regards Krajina, it enjoys a special status now that it has been put under UN protection. What the final status of Krajina will be solely depends on talks between legitimate representatives of Krajina, representatives of the conference on Yugoslavia, and the Croatian authorities. Some steps have been taken to start the talks as soon as possible, but now it is impossible to say how and when they will be finalized. In any case, the will of the Krajina people will be the factor which will have the final say in all agreements and negotiations.

[Cordas] Finally, what about Bosnia-Hercegovina in terms of the prism of the latest agreement on friendship and cooperation signed by Tudjman and Izetbegovic? How do you assess the agreement?

[Jovanovic] We are convinced that our peace initiative will disperse and eliminate the distrust which is looming over the FRY. We are aware that real dangers for it exist and note that forces not wishing peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and hoping for foreign military intervention exist. However, it is becoming increasingly clear who is for peace and who is against it.

We are abiding by the principle that all forms of Yugoslav crisis can successfully be resolved if equal rights are granted to all nations. Had this principle been observed from the outset, there would not have been wars or other conflicts and distrust.

This principle is valid for Bosnia-Hercegovina more than for anywhere else. The war in that republic started because one side, the Muslim side, violated that principle and because some foreign factors followed suit.

Now, the Muslims and Croatia are practically united against the third side in the Bosnia-Hercegovina triangle—the Serbian side—through the agreement on friendship and cooperation, contents of which I do not know in detail. This could be very serious, primarily for the possible coexistence of the three nations in the republic. However, we hope that this agreement will not invalidate all attempts to reach an agreement in Bosnia-Hercegovina which will bring permanent peace to all.

OECD Suspends Yugoslav Participation

LD2307140292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1237 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Paris, July 23 (TANJUG)—The participation by Yugoslav representatives in the work of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has been suspended until further notice, Yugoslavia's permanent delegation in Paris was informed on Thursday [23 July] by OECD General Secretary Jean-Claude Pej.

Pej said in his letter that the OECD had decided to suspend the 1961 agreement on cooperation granting Yugoslavia a status of associate member and its representatives a possibility of participating in a number of activities of this international organization.

He did not give any reasons for the suspension, but it is clearly linked with the tough [illegible]omic and political sanctions imposed on Yugo[illegible] the U.N. Security Council on May 30.

The coming summer recess means that any consequences of the suspension will be seen only after September, provided nothing changes in the current world isolation of Yugoslavia.

The OECD hesitated for a long time with its decision, given that it regarded Yugoslavia as its "best partner" in Central and Eastern Europe. Two years ago, Yugoslavia was on the threshold of admittance to full OECD membership on account of the closeness of its system with those in the West, [word indistinct] praise for many joint projects in which Yugoslav representatives took part.

An OECD spokesman told TANJUG that he had not yet been informed about the contents of Pej's letter and could thus not say if the decision was in any way linked with last Monday's E.C. demand for the expulsion of Yugoslavia from all international organizations.

Officials Appointed to President's Office

LD2307205392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], has appointed Bratislav Topalovic to the post of deputy secretary general of the Office of the FRY President.

Miodrag Mitic, secretary general of the Office of the FRY President, has appointed Vladimir Matovic to the post of special adviser for internal affairs to the FRY president; Dr. Punisa Pavlovic to the post of special adviser for foreign affairs; and Dr. Nikola Tasic to the post of assistant secretary general, the information service of the FRY President stated today.

Serbia

Vice-Chairman Calls For Jovic Resignation

AU2407115492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 24 Jul 92

[Radovan Pantovic report from the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade]

[Text] The debate on the government's proposal to transform the POLITIKA publishing house into a public company is still underway. The representatives of the government insist that the law on the transformation of the POLITIKA publishing house be adopted, explaining this by the national significance of POLITIKA and the danger of the disintegration of the property that, as it was said yesterday, the state also helped to create.

The opposition deputies demanded that the law be withdrawn, justifying this by doubts in this particular sort of nationalization and the political background of the law. The demand was not acknowledged, and 25 deputies registered for the debate. However, deputy Milan Paroski has now been at the rostrum for the last hour. He is still speaking and some interpret this as a deliberate obstruction.

Another interesting piece of information has arrived from the Serbian Assembly, namely, the Assembly Press Service distributed a statement by Serbian Assembly Vice-Chairman Pavic Obradovic to reporters about yesterday's statement by Borisav Jovic, chairman of Socialist Party of Serbia. Pavic Obradovic says in the statement:

With the tone and the manner of his reaction to the justified critical remarks of Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic, concerning the work of the Socialist Party, Bora Jovic demonstrated once again that he has lost his direction and should relinquish the leading post in the ruling Socialist Party. Jovic' cheekiness, arrogance, and lack of democracy went over the top, Obradovic says. Instead of calming passions in these difficult times, he is stirring them. Instead of gathering and uniting people, he is dividing them and setting them against each other. We also know him as a man who deals unscrupulously with anyone who does not agree with his stereotypes and cliches, Pavic Obradovic ends his statement.

That is all from the Serbian Assembly in which the debate on the proposal of the law on transformation of the POLITIKA publishing house into a public company is in progress.

SRS: Serbs 'Conquered' Ethnic Territories

AU2407082192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] insists that nobody must ever allow the internationalization of any of the Serbian internal state issues in the name of the Serbian nation, [party president] Vojislav Seselj stressed at the regular news conference. Jelena Vidic reports:

[Begin recording] [Vidic] The SRS sharply condems bargaining by Lord Carrington [chairman of the EC conference on Yugoslavia] and the EC, who wish to divide the Serbian territories at any price and take Kosovo, Metohija, Sandzak, and Vojvodina away from us, Vojislav Seselj concluded and added:

[Seselj] Their intention is to (?break) us under the pressure of the economic blockade to agree, as a nation and a state, to an international conference on Kosovo and Metohija in order to internationalize this issue and decide the fate of Serbia in the same underhand manner

in which it was decided in the case of the Serbs on the territory of the former federal unit of Croatia and in the case of the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Vidic] It is essential to find a solution for the FRY defense minister, who must be a professional and a patriot, Seselj said. Commenting on the proposal of the federal budget, Seselj said that it is immature at the very least to reduce the expenditure for the Army in times of a threat of foreign aggression.

Answering the journalists' questions concerning the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the recent Tudjman-Izetbegovic agreement, Seselj said that coordination between the Croatian and Bosnian presidents has been evident for quite a long time. However, Seselj said, Bosnia-Hercegovina Muslims have been double-crossed and Tudjman will fight in Bosnia until the last Muslim. As far as the Serbian side is concerned, Seselj added, it has conquered its ethnic territories and is now ready for peace, but on the condition that Bosnia-Hercegovina be constituted on a confederal principle.

Answering further journalists' questions, Seselj assessed that the possible decision by the Democratic Party to join DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] would only be an electoral move. According to him, DEPOS is the way and the manner in which the eminences grises in the background, as he said, would carry out changes in the leaderships of the Democratic Party, Serbian Renewal Movement, and other parties and usurp the power without elections. [end recording]

SPS Leader Rejects Milosevic Criticism

LD2407100292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] Belgrade, July 23 (TANJUG)—President of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) Borisav Jovic rejected on Thursday [23 July] as insufficiently precise and tactless criticism of the party made by President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic on Wednesday.

At a meeting with politicians and businessmen in Leskovac, a town in southern Serbia, Milosevic criticized some members of the SPS leadership saying that "they were often arrogant towards the membership and in public and so turned people off." Milosevic said that the SPS "must carry through some vital changes in its political life," and criticized its leadership for avoiding talks with opposition parties.

Jovic said that Milosevic's criticism "was not sufficiently precise as regards to whom he was referring and arguments it was based on," and that it was therefore tactless, as set out in statement received by TANJUG.

Jovic criticizes Milosevic because he did not state his objections and criticism at meetings of the SPS main and executive board to which he was regularly invited.

"Such publicly made criticism without a previously held democratic discussion in the SPS organs can only be detrimental to the party and President Milosevic at a time when it is least needed," said Jovic in the statement.

The SPS congress has been scheduled for early October and it is expected that the party's political stand will be reviewed and a new leadership might be elected.

Slobodan Milosevic was the first SPS president but he resigned from the post when he was elected president of Serbia.

SPS Leaders Discuss War, Elections, DEPOS

92BA1210A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jul 92 p 11

[Article by C. Milivojevic: "Changes Only by Consensus"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Second Congress of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] (and election of the new leadership) will be held in October, the Main Committee of the incumbent party in Serbia decided yesterday. The Socialists are expressing readiness to "resolve all conflicts by democratic means." It is above all a question of the commitment of the SPS to "do everything to restore peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but not by reiterating general views, but with specific moves." As for political relations in Serbia, the incumbent party is prepared for talks about democratic change, but is always mindful of the individual citizen (on the voter list)—"who is the last judge."

"In that area," Dr. Bogdan Trifunovic, SPS vice president, said at yesterday's press conference, "the Main Committee has stood behind the conclusions of the National Assembly on the need for important changes in the government, about formation of interparty councils that would prevent interethnic conflicts and would strengthen Serbia's international ties, and about changing laws necessary to holding democratic elections that will be held before the end of the year" (the parliament will decide whether the UN sanctions are an obstacle to the elections). Trifunovic explained that in no case "were we talking about cosmetic changes rather than important ones" (specialized and competent people in the government, along with an invitation to all parties to propose them; more rapid constructive talks with the parties about all matters related to the elections).

Question: Dialogue with the opposition?

Dr. Petar Skundric: It is not satisfactory, but with goodwill on both sides, we could arrive at satisfactory arrangements.

Question: Interparty commissions or a roundtable—what would the format be?

Trifunovic: The conclusion of the Assembly is clear: The parties and prestigious institutions would be part of the working bodies, and everything would be coordinated—the specific deadlines and tasks—with the government.

Perhaps there would be two or three bodies, except that we cannot refer to the Hungarian or Polish experience, because multiparty elections have already been held here.

Question: Do you accept the call of the university students for a roundtable?

Dr. Borisav Jovic (presiding): We have not yet decided.

Question: If the student protest continues, what will you do?

Jovic: Elements of the political struggle have in part carried over to the university, which is not a good thing. As far as the opposition is concerned, it can choose all forms of political struggle provided they are not violent.

Skundric: As a professor at Belgrade University, I say that only the SPS has respect at the autonomy of the university, and in any case we are talking about only 10 percent of the students and faculty.

Question: How long will the demonstrations of DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] last?

Jovic: They obviously want to cause conflicts. That certainly cannot go on indefinitely; if they do not end in a day or two, we would take another look at this matter.

Question: Problems with the "soft deputies" in the SPS?

Jovic: We are a democratic party with differing opinions and attitudes. But if they begin to set themselves up as a parallel position, that cannot be tolerated.

Question: Was the last election illegitimate, because you are announcing a new one, and is your candidate Milan Panic preparing a puppet government, which is what you reproach the opposition for?

Jovic: The SPS would never place confidence in a puppet government. Mr. Panic is talking with the U.S. authorities, not about political conditions, but about his own property. In any case, the last election was not illegitimate, but—in view of the objective social tensions—we feel sufficiently strong to test the mood of the voters once again.

Question: The ending of the war in Bosnia and the sending of humanitarian aid to the Krajinas?

Jovic: We will accept any agreement among the three nationalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina. About the sending of aid, the governments of Croatia and Bosnia answered us in the negative, and we have so informed the UN secretary general. But now a highway corridor has been opened to the north of Bosnia.

Question: Comment on the arrival of the 6th Fleet?

Jovic: I am not informed, but there are no reasons for intervention against Yugoslavia.

[Box, p 11]

"Quartet" Leaving the SPS?

Jovan Cvetkovic, Momcilo Trajkovic, Milan Svabic, and Dr. Ilija Rosic, deputies of the SPS in the Serbian National Assembly, have withdrawn from the deputy caucus of their party. This is an unofficial report from the meeting of the Main Committee, but what is known in any case is the statement by Dr. Petar Skundric that "whoever leaves the deputy caucus can no longer be a member of the SPS."

In the Main Committee, so we have learned, there were also requests for an extraordinary congress to be held much earlier—in July, for example.

Djindjic Comments on Democratic Party Goals

92BA1210B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jul 92 p 7

[Interview with Dr. Zoran Djindjic, president of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party, by Verica Rupor; place and date not given: "A Political Compromise Is Not a Defeat"]

[Text] When in the political duels on the eve of the first multiparty election in Serbia, a year and a half ago, Dr. Zoran Djindjic mated his election opponent at that time with his acuteness, while the exclusiveness of that opponent became for a segment of the political public a metaphor for the style of a segment of the incumbent party, it seemed that we were on the threshold of a new political era. In the meantime, however, the communications threshold from monologue to dialogue has been stepped over differently.

The arrogance of the political statements and the lack of feel for differing views have become fixtures even within the opposition itself. More and more frequent cries are coming from its ranks in recent days to the effect that the Democratic Party [DS], and Dr. Djindjic is chairman of the Executive Committee, has become collaborationist and step by step is by its strategy granting legitimacy to the present government not to change anything "over the next 100 years."

The smile with which he listens to these criticisms indicates that this is not the first time Dr. Zoran Djindjic has heard them and that he could speak about them both as senior scientific adviser in the Center for Philosophy and Social Theory, but also as leader of the party whose internal differences of opinion have been a frequent topic of conversation.

"Those discussions are quite natural, and they started back at the beginning of more parties than just the one to which I belong. The opposition grew up out of dissent, and actually the same debate has been conducted the whole time: Are we a dissident organization that derives its political strength from a boycott of the government

and refusal to take responsibility for what happens in society, or a normal political party taking part in political life?"

The Election as the Subject Matter of a Dispute

That dilemma takes material form every time a decision has to be made about practical political steps, among which elections are certainly the most important. The first group of Democrats separated itself on the eve of the first election—they thought the election should be boycotted, and the recent ferment is related to the presence of a group of prestigious members of this party in the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS]. The sharp polarization of the opposition public concerning the behavior of the Democratic Party has been taking place in recent days, and Dr. Djindjic proves in the following way that these are upheavals in keeping with the times:

"Most of us entered political life with idealism and an idealized conception of Serbia, along with a great deal of moralizing, which was not politically wise. Because we did not win the election (in 1990), there were two possibilities: either to do a realistic analysis of that outcome and regardless of the unequal position the opposition was in to look for the causes of the election failure, or to consider ourselves moral victors who like members of a religious sect will nurture asceticism and avoid any contact with the government. Some of the opposition leaders, feeling that moral right was on their side, sank into political frustration out of asceticism, which can hardly yield results in a political context."

The electorate, Dr. Djindjic went on to explain, did not show understanding toward that polarization. Although there is no question of the role of the media in shaping political attitudes, everything cannot be explained in terms of the aggressive propaganda of the incumbent party, mainly through television. After all, how are we otherwise to explain that in Belgrade, where there is pluralism among the media, the opposition has not drastically increased the number of its supporters?

Change of Tactics

"We realized that something much more serious was involved, that Serbia could not change politically in the way we had chosen, so without changing our end—which is changing the government—we decided to change our means," Dr. Djindjic said.

One extremely important meeting of the Main Committee of the Democratic Party was devoted to that topic in May, and the dilemma was actually an old one—what conditions to bring about in order to take part in the elections, so that those conditions would not be so strict so that their acceptance would be impossible (accepting again the label that the opposition does not really want elections), but yet not so minimal as to result in a new election failure because of a new inequality.

It is Dr. Djindjic's opinion that in Serbia there is not the "critical mass" to ensure, first, a change of government, and then elections, and in the end that was the position of the Main Committee. The opinion of the Democratic Movement of Serbia, to which some of the Democrats have inclined, is that it could happen the other way about—that through the institution of a roundtable, for example, the parliament could be reduced to a deputy body that would only formally pass the laws proposed by the roundtable.

The tactics of the Democrats might be boiled down to Djindjic's sentence "quickly, but gradually," and the parting of the ways with a segment of the opposition, which these days is criticizing the Democrats the most, to the assessment that this is a question of a "political idealism which has a strong moral thrust, but is politically unrealistic."

Some people, however, think that it is the tactics of the Democrats that constitutes political idealism, because the government, according to them, is unwilling to compromise. Along with the conventional argument that a policy of compromise, and, accordingly, the compromise itself, is not automatically a defeat, the chairman of the Executive Committee makes the case for the political means that have been chosen.

Pressure From the Federal Level

At the federal level, according to all previous agreements, not just the informal ones, there will very soon be a roundtable, not between the government and the opposition, but with all relevant political factors participating. The package of laws to be adopted at the federal level would also signify a change in the republic laws, and the scheduling of elections for 6 December (the date that has been mentioned most frequently these days) would mean opening up the ballot boxes for both federal and republic deputies.

The changes in the Federal Constitution—Dobrica Cosic, president of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], has announced them—would also have an impact on the republic Constitution, which has established a presidential system in Serbia different from the solution at the Yugoslav level and even from the "Zabljak Constitution."

Dr. Djindjic, completely convinced of this train of events, mentions that this does not mean stepping away from the "republic struggle." The deputies of the Democratic Party will demand in the Serbian Assembly that elections be scheduled, that is, that a precise date for the voting be set, and also an urgent change of the most important laws—the election law, the law on information, the law on financing political parties. The pressure will be both formal and informal, but the most important thing said the subject of our interview, is that the agreement be "finalized." The Assembly conclusions concerning the sanctions, which said that early elections would be held before the end of the year, were an attempt to do that.

"I am an optimist," Dr. Zoran Djindjic said in conclusion, "I think that civil society has been awakened in Serbia, that we have avoided everything that seemed to be a tragic future, war on our own territory, for example, until just a month ago.

"I anticipate stabilization of political conditions by the end of the year. If it can be said of the body politic of Serbia that in the majority it was constituted a year and a half ago around the resistance to change, and a year ago around the fear of Yugoslavia's disintegration, and six months ago around concern for the Serbs outside Serbia, then it can be said that the predominant manifestation of the political will today is the sober assessment that changes are necessary." Judging by our conversation with Dr. Zoran Djindjic, that soberness, which is not afraid, nor does it offer unrealistic hope, is the card on which the Democratic Party is putting its stakes.

[Box, p 7]

Kindred Parties

The DS has the most contacts with the Reform Democratic Party of Vojvodina [RDSV], with New Democracy—Movement for Serbia [ND-PzS], and with the Serbian Peasant Party [SSS]. Recently, they have also taken quite a few stands in common with the Serbian National Defense [SNO], the People's Party [NS], and the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS]. Cooperation with the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] has ceased almost entirely (Djindjic says "after the obstruction with the platform in the Serbian Assembly"), and as for the incumbent Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], the Democrats diplomatically reply that the ferment within the SPS and the views of the Social Democratic wing are "a fact which certainly should be welcomed."

[Box, p 7]

About the St. Vitus' Day Gathering

Dr. Zoran Djindjic says that as a citizen of Belgrade whom the public does not recognize, he would go to see what is happening at the St. Vitus' Day gathering in front of the Yugoslav Assembly. As a politician, however, it is his opinion that DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia], by not precisely stating achievable goals and a time limit, has put itself in a stalemate in which participants in the gathering can rightfully feel themselves to have been manipulated. "This is politically irresponsible and at the same time there is an extremely high degree of risk that I would not dare to assume," Dr. Djindjic said.

Kosovo

Serbs Reject International Conference on Province

AU2307144792 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 92

[Text] The increasingly frequent demands for the organization of an international conference on Kosovo are causing more and more complaints among the Slav population in the province. Milivoje Mihajlovic reports:

[Mihajlovic] Any acceptance of the organization of an international conference on Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija] would mean placing a question mark over the sovereignty of the state of Serbia. This was stated today in a joint communique of the Serbian Democratic Forum of Kosovo-Metohija and a non-political association Postojbina [Homeland] based in Pristina. These two associations hold the view that no sovereign country in the world would agree to such a conference. They support the stands of President Cosic and President Milosevic, who rejected negotiations about it.

The Serbian Democratic Forum of Kosmet and the Postojbina Association take the view that no one, particularly not the current authorities, have the right to hold talks with anybody about the territorial integrity of the state, especially when it comes to the territory of Kosovo-Metohija.

These two associations believe that a dialogue about the rights of national minorities could be conducted with full respect for the territorial integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia and respecting the will of the Kosmet Serbs and Montenegrins.

The Albanian-language press today devoted most of its attention to the polemic with a statement by Slobodan Milosevic that Ibrahim Rugova does not represent all Albanians in the province.

A good part of today's issue of BUJKU is devoted to proving Rugova's guardianship over all Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija. Cosic and Milosevic, or as BUJKU's commentator states, the father and the leader of the Serbian nation, see Kosovo as a Serbian colony. The Albanian-language press claims that the peace conference on Kosovo will be held at some point in the future, because, as the press points out, the Serbian regime will give in. The Strait of Otranto is closed and the Serbian skies are being overflown by, instead of birds, AWACS [Advanced Warning Airborne Command System] and military transport planes, writes the Albanian-language press published in Pristina.